UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

SUMMER 1975 / VOLUME 43 / NUMBER 3

Toward an Architectural Tradition

Fox

UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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Utah Historical Quarterly was established in 1928 to publish articles, documents, and reviews contributing to knowledge of Utah's history. The *Quarterly* is published by the Utah State Historical Society, 603 East South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah 84102. Phone (801) 533-5755.

Members of the Society receive the *Quarterly* and the bimonthly *Newsletter* upon payment of the annual dues; for details see inside back cover. Single copies, $2.00.

Materials for publication should be submitted in duplicate accompanied by return postage and should be typed double-spaced with footnotes at the end. Additional information on requirements is available from the managing editor. The Society assumes no responsibility for statements of fact or opinion by contributors.

The *Quarterly* is indexed in *Book Review Index to Social Science Periodicals, America: History and Life*, and on Biblio Cards.

Second class postage is paid at Salt Lake City, Utah.

ISSN 0042-143X

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HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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THE COVER *The Watkins-Coleman home in Midway illustrates the great popularity of Gothic Revival in Utah architecture of the 1860s to the 1880s, while the Pine Valley chapel (back cover) represents another favorite style, Greek Revival. Both the home and the church are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Watkins-Coleman home photographed by L. V. McNeely, Pine Valley chapel by the Historic Preservation staff.*

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This issue has been funded in part by the National Park Service under provision of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

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In this issue

Remarkable for its variety and elegance, Utah's architecture reflects a busy, proud, and interesting history. Though long neglected as a field of study by itself, the architectural record is now being probed professionally by artists, architects, historians, and others as part of the national impulse toward historic preservation. The reckless abandon with which a frontier society once razed old structures is now clearly giving way to a growing respect for the traditional, the aesthetic, and the historical. The time is right for a historical overview, one which charts the course we have traveled thus far and offers suggestions and inspiration for plans and direction in the immediate future.

Two of the articles presented in these pages are surveys of Utah's architecture. They define terms, analyze patterns, and represent the technical catalog to which all specialized studies will be anchored in some way. The remaining articles deal with select personalities and distinctive structures in defining the uniqueness and charm of certain Utah communities. They remind us that our architectural record is an intensely human one, something much more than structure and style. It is, like all facets of our history, an impress of the aspirations, beliefs, and nobility of those who have gone before.

The Architectural History of Utah

BY PETER L. GOSS

Detail of the decorated, bracketed, boxed cornice with return on the Canute Peterson home, 1869, at Ephraim. Historic American Buildings Survey drawing.

DESPITE UTAH'S RELATIVELY short architectural history, spanning little more than one hundred twenty-five years, the variety of buildings and styles in the state constitutes a rich heritage that needs to be

recorded and preserved.[1] Two major categories of architecture are examined in this brief history: the vernacular, referring primarily to early pioneer structures, and the stylistic or "high style" (both architect and non-architect designed) of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Utah, as in the rest of the United States, these are not exclusive categories, for the combination of vernacular materials and building methods with various "high style" features is common.

The influence of the Mormon faith upon town planning and religious architectural forms is one of the unique features of Utah architecture. There was no isolated homesteading in the state as there had been in other parts of the West and Midwest; instead, the primary settlement pattern was a gridiron form oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. Referred to as the plat of the "City of Zion," this form is attributed to Joseph Smith and was formulated in the 1830s prior to the settlement of Utah. Basically the plan calls for a city one-mile square, divided into blocks containing ten acres each. Each block was subdivided into twenty half-acre lots; each lot was allowed one house, and all houses had to have twenty-five-foot setbacks from the street. The streets were unusually wide and the central row of blocks, often larger than the others, had one or more blocks designated for civic, religious, educational, and recreational functions.[2] Unlike the New England "common" or green that was usually surrounded by public and private buildings and the Midwest courthouse square with a town hall and/or a courthouse on a small landscaped site, the "City of Zion" concept accommodated such buildings as the county courthouse and jail, stake tabernacle, and social hall.[3] This arrangement is still clearly visible today in many Mormon villages.

The promotion of mining in the 1860s by Col. Patrick E. Connor brought about a second pattern of settlement.[4] With the coming of the railroad in 1869, boom towns dominated by Gentiles sprang into existence, often in a linear pattern and affected by the topographical features near the mines. Utilizing the new and efficient technology of the

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[1] Many Indian structures, particularly in southeastern Utah, date from as early as A.D. 700. Additionally, trappers built some log structures prior to the settlement period. For the purposes of this history, however, only buildings erected after the arrival of the Mormons in 1847 will be considered.

[2] Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village* (Salt Lake City, 1952), 38–39.

[3] Paul Goeldner, *Utah Catalog: Historic American Buildings Survey* (Salt Lake City, 1969), 11.

[4] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900,* 182. (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 201–2.

balloon frame construction, buildings were erected quickly side by side, replacing earlier log and tent structures. Ophir and Park City still reflect this unplanned development. Fire, the deadly enemy of these wooden frame structures, has obliterated portions of these communities and, in some instances, entire mining towns. The image of the once-bustling, haphazard boom town contrasts sharply with the Mormon town surrounded by agricultural lands, its gridiron form containing regularly spaced structures constructed of a more permanent material such as brick or stone.

Vernacular Architecture

Many of the early Mormon settlers of Utah came from upstate New York and New England. Architecturally their communities in Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois, reflected this eastern heritage that also influenced various architectural forms in Utah. On the other hand, an unusual feature of Utah vernacular architecture is the lack of ethnic influence upon construction techniques and stylistic qualities, considering the large influx of Mormon converts from overseas. Practically speaking, the availability of building materials, the amounts of labor and skill needed for construction, and the relative isolation of Utah in its first twenty years of settlement exerted a great influence upon vernacular architecture. The major types of building materials included adobe, logs, stone, and, after the establishment of kilns and sawmills, brick and lumber. Adobe was the most available and widely used material in Mormon settlements.

In an effort to establish settlements quickly throughout the territory, the pioneers usually erected a temporary shelter, either a dugout or cabin, with the intention of later constructing a more suitable permanent dwelling. The dugout, log or adobe cabin, and various house forms became models that were repeated throughout a community and often in neighboring communities. One advantage of the cabin forms, and more especially the house forms, was that they were easily enlarged, a quality often difficult to achieve in the later "high style" designs.

The Dugout. These temporary shelters were all somewhat similar, nearly square in shape and, in some instances, two rooms deep, sunk three or four feet below grade. Where possible the dugout was built into a hillside with the rear of the structure cut into the slope of the hill. The entrance was through the gable end. The roof, often of a shallow pitch, was of wood covered with branches and a layer of dirt. The side walls varied

in height and were usually constructed of logs or fieldstone. Recent investigations have suggested that the dugout did not predominate in Mormon communities and that it was no more easily constructed than an adobe log cabin.[5] After the dugout was abandoned for the permanent house form it was utilized for storage. Dugouts are frequently seen behind or to the side of houses throughout Utah; some of these were undoubtedly used as early shelters, but others were built for cold storage and were often referred to as "root cellars."

Adobe Buildings. Adobe had several advantages over log and stone that encouraged its widespread use in Utah: no skilled labor was required either in the manufacture or in construction, and it could be used for a variety of structures, including outbuildings, cabins, and large permanent buildings. Although adobe was considered fireproof, it weathered poorly unless covered with stucco. The simplest adobe dwelling was a cabin. Like its log equivalent it was a detached one- or two-room structure with a roof of a shallow pitch and a floor of tamped dirt or floor boards. Foundations, if existent, were of stone lacking mortar, and entrances and windows were located in the broadside. The interior walls of the cabin were often plastered and whitewashed.

Adobe brick, mud concrete, and stone were also used as a filling material between the vertical members of a stud frame wall much like the French colonial *briquette-entre-poteaux* and English half timber forms of construction. The outer wall surface was weatherproofed by the addition of a stucco coat or, in some instances, clapboard. Brigham Young's office, east of his winter home in St. George, Washington County, was constructed in such a manner and covered with stucco in 1874.

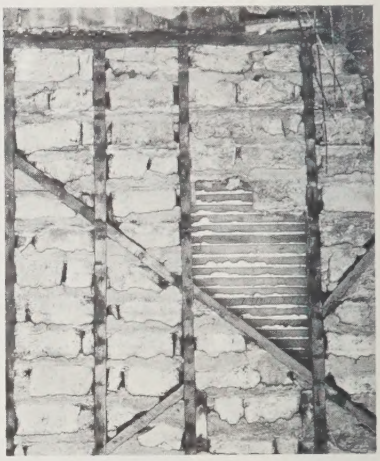
Mud concrete or poured adobe construction was possible in areas having a high lime content in the clay. Gravels were mixed with the mud and poured into forms. The building was layed up much like a brick or stone structure, one course at a time, since each course had to dry before construction could proceed. Mud concrete structures are found in Cache valley, and the towns of Parowan and Paragonah, Iron County.[6]

Log Buildings. Log structures were not as popular in Utah as the adobe building. Log was deemed crude and unattractive in comparison to stuccoed adobe, and Brigham Young, who much preferred adobe, disliked the appearance of log buildings.[7] However, all types of log struc-

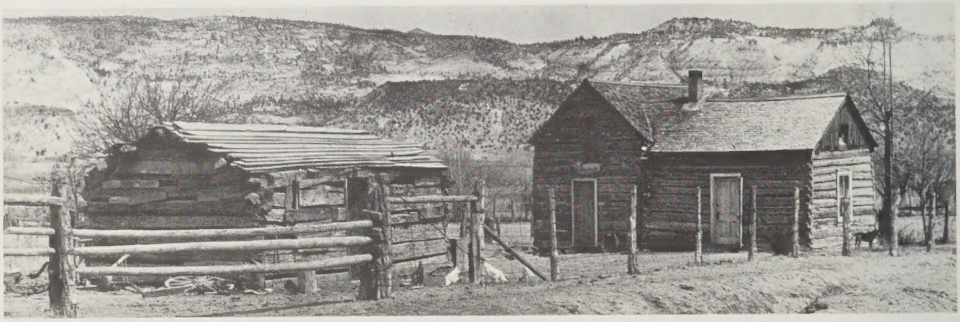
[5] Leon Sidney Pitman, "A Survey of Nineteenth Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region" (Ph.D. diss., Lousiana State University, 1973), 115.

[6] *Ibid.*, 54.

[7] *Ibid.*, 58.



Clockwise from top left: mud concrete house in Paragonah, detail of a stud-frame house infilled with mortar and stone, typical log structures. Utah State Historical Society collections.



tures existed in Utah, and examples of log wardhouses, schools, cabins, and houses still stand.[8] Like the dugout and the adobe cabin, the log cabin was a temporary shelter, planned for eventual use as an outbuilding or incorporated into a new house. The simple cabin form of logs was similar to the adobe cabin in roof pitch, size, and location of the main entrance and window openings. The exterior chimney of fieldstone, cobblestone, or later, brick, was located in the center of one of the gable ends. The interior walls of the cabin were often plastered by nailing willow branches onto the log surface to act as lath and then whitewashed.

Cottonwood was commonly used in early log construction, especially near creeks. It was not as straight nor as long as other woods and was therefore inferior to the wood of coniferous trees. Since early

[8] Early examples include the Miles Goodyear cabin (1845) now located in Tabernacle Park, Ogden, and the Osmyn Deuel cabin (1847) in Temple Square, Salt Lake City.

structures were erected without hewing the top and bottom log edges, the job of chinking, or filling in between the logs, was more laborious. Hewn logs provided a tighter joint, and when all four sides were hewn the exterior and interior walls could be covered with another material. Five major forms of notching are recorded in log construction in the United States, and log buildings in Utah exhibit all five varieties. The best notching for more permanent structures is the half or full dovetail notch, while the simpler saddle notch is frequently noted in the construction of hay and cattle barns and outbuildings.[9]

Mormon Forts. Perhaps the most indigenous architectural form on the early Utah landscape was the Mormon fort. The first of these forts or stockades was constructed on a block in Salt Lake City and later enlarged by two additional blocks. Ultimately, 450 log cabins were contained within the adobe-walled structure.[10] Following Indian raids on several settlements in central Utah in 1853, Brigham Young ordered all settlements to build a fortification. In new settlements the fort was cooperatively constructed and functioned as the heart of the colony until the pioneers were able to build roads, canals, and houses.[11] Thirty-five forts have been recorded as established, and most of these were occupied for only a short time. The forts varied depending upon available building material, labor, and date of construction. Frontier forts were usually designed in one of three forms: cabin row fort, detached wall fort, or contiguous compartment fort. Cove Fort in Millard County represents a well preserved example of the third type. Constructed of black lava rock in 1867, Cove Fort contains two one-story rows of single-room cabins along its north and south walls. The fort was never attacked by Indians and later became a hostelry on the route between Salt Lake City and St. George.

Stone Masonry Buildings. Aside from adobe, the most popular material for building was stone, despite its disadvantages. The average pioneer was handicapped by his lack of knowledge in the craft of stonemasonry. Moreover, stone is difficult and costly to transport, and unless sources of stone were near at hand builders would most likely turn to a substitute. Nevertheless, stone buildings were constructed throughout the state, and stonemasonry may be seen in all building forms. Stone came into greater use after the initial settlement stage when the pioneer desired

[9] Pitman, "Folk Housing," 70–76.
[10] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*, 45, 47.
[11] *Ibid.*, 89.

a more permanent building to reflect his success and properly accommodate his family needs. Most of the stonemasons active in the nineteenth century in Utah were of European origin. Danes and Swedes settled in Manti and Spring City, English in Heber City and Midway, Scots in Beaver, and Welsh in Willard.

Two communities, Willard and Spring City, were built almost exclusively of stone. The former utilized the rubble stone (primarily granite) from nearby Willard Canyon and the latter a quarried, cream-colored limestone. The quality of Willard's stone buildings, the work of the Welsh stonemason Shadrach Jones, differs from house to house, probably reflecting the financial ability of his clients. Jones's own house, built ca. 1872, is a simple two-story cottage similar to those found in his native Wales. Willard's stonework contrasts with the smooth ashlar or cut stone surfaces and coursing of the limestone employed in Spring City by Scandinavian masons. Stonemasonry construction declined in the latter decades of the nineteenth century due to an increasing availability of brick and lumber.

Brick Buildings. Brick, a popular building material in Nauvoo, did not gain widespread use in Utah until the 1860s when brickyards were established.[12] Brick was first used as a veneer over adobe and later in the century as a loadbearing material. Despite the demand for brick as a building material at the end of the century, it was infrequently used in decorative patterns or bonds. The William Stirling house (ca. 1876) in Leeds, Washington County, demonstrates the use of local brick from Kanarra in a vernacular house form.

Mormon House Types. One characteristic peculiar to Mormon settlements is the position of the basic gabled house broadside to the street with the main entry within the broadside. When the form appears gable end to the street the structure usually served some purpose other than for dwelling. Throughout Utah's Mormon villages, structures gable end to the street often functioned as wardhouses, tabernacles, tithing offices, schoolhouses, Relief Society buildings, and commercial establishments such as cooperatives.

The simplest Mormon house type, the single-room cottage, was built of adobe, stone, brick, and, in some instances, lumber or hewn logs, with one or both gable ends containing a chimney. These small homes were often one-and-a-half stories tall, and the attic space was sometimes used as a sleeping loft. Dormer windows were occasionally cut into the roof

[12] Pitman, "Folk Housing," 83.

line for added light. Lean-to additions in the rear were common. The Goodloe house in Farmington provides a good example of the simple cottage form. Sometimes the cottage evolved into another form with the addition of a full second story or another room alongside the first.

The next major form, the I house, is a two-story rectangular form one room deep.[13] Frequently a lean-to addition of one story was added to it. In modified form, the I house became the saltbox common in New England but surprisingly rare in Utah. The roof line at the rear of the saltbox remains unbroken from the ridge to the rear wall of the addition. The restored Jesse N. Smith house in Parowan, Iron County, is a saltbox.

Related to the I house form is the central hall or four-over-four house, with its double-depth arrangement of rooms on both sides of a central hall that contains a stairway leading to a similar grouping of rooms on the second story.[14] An unusual feature of both the I form and the central hall, double-depth form is a second-story door, the origin of which has never been successfully explained. In some houses, however, it is apparent that the door served as an entry onto a full-length porch off the second floor.

The three remaining house forms are the T, L, and H plans, all variations of the basic I and central hall, double-depth form. In fact, some T, L, and H forms were undoubtedly I or central hall homes originally and demonstrate the additive quality of the basic gable model house form. The T form appears most frequently in Utah, and examples are found in nearly every community. While the L shape is often found on corner lots throughout the state, it was not as popular as the T form. Examples of the H form are less common and this type of home may have been built by polygamous families. While polygamous homes exhibit no typical form, they were usually adaptations of existing house forms, the main requirement being that each wife have her own quarters within the dwelling.

The Mormon house forms discussed here as vernacular architecture are also found in combination with some of the stylistic features that emerged as "high style" design. Some of these stylistic features were merely added to existing house forms, creating a decorative veneer. In

[13] Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* no. 55 (1965), pp. 549–77.

[14] The central hall house came from England via Georgian American architecture in the eastern United States. See Henry Glassie, "The Impact of the Georgian Form on American Folk Housing," in Austin Fife and Henry Glassie, eds., *Forms Upon the Frontier: Folklife and Folk Art in the United States,* Utah State University Monograph Series, vol. 16, no. 2 (Logan, 1969), 23–25.

other instances vernacular materials and building methods were integrated with new "high style" designs.

Stylistic Developments

The arrival of the railroad in 1869 ended a twenty-year period of isolation for Utah and ultimately affected the development of architecture within the state. The late arrival of many of the numerous national stylistic trends did not deter the evolution of Utah architecture, however, and as the turn of the century neared, the gap began to narrow. Travel, new publications, and significant events such as the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago affected Utah as well as other regions of the United States. While many fine examples of the styles to be discussed have been destroyed, much remains to research and evaluate in order to present a complete picture of Utah's architectural history.

The Federal Style. Vaguely reminiscent of its upstate New York and New England origins, the Federal style belongs to the earliest period of Utah architecture. The Mormons had used it in Kirtland, Ohio, and Nauvoo, Illinois, before repeating it a third time in Utah. Upstate New York examples date from the 1790s to the 1830s, while the Utah renditions date from the 1850s to the 1860s. Many examples of the Federal style exist throughout the state in a variety of materials.[15] One of the Federal homes is the Canute Peterson house, a double-depth, central hall form, located in Ephraim, Sanpete County, and constructed of sun-dried brick in 1869. Its Federal features include a shallow pitched roof and boxed cornice with a decorative frieze, and there is a symmetrical arrangement of four windows on either side of the first- and second-story doors.[16]

Some Utah homes of the Federal style have been called "Nauvoo style," a misnomer since some structures at Nauvoo had double chimneys on the gable ends, and others, like Brigham Young's Nauvoo home, had stepped gables. Although these features are often seen in the eastern United States in Georgian architecture as well as the Federal, they were rarely seen in Utah.

Greek Revival. Utah's experience with the Greek Revival style was incomplete. At the height of Greek Revival popularity in upstate New York, the Mormons moved to Kirtland, Ohio, and then on to Missouri

[15] These are usually houses of the central hall, T, or I forms.

[16] Each door has a transom and side lights, or windows, features considered by some to be Greek Revival. See Rexford Newcomb, *Architecture of the Old Northwest Territory* (Chicago, 1940), 154.

and Illinois. Greek Revival architecture did not become popular in those regions until after the Mormons left. As a result, there are no examples in Utah of the popular Greek temple house forms that abound in the small towns and villages of upstate New York. Buildings in Utah that do have pretensions to the Greek Revival style include county courthouses and a variety of church-owned structures. Greek Revival may have come to Utah via pioneer carpenter-builders and architects such as Truman O. Angell and William H. Folsom who used builders' or carpenters' guides by Peter Nicholson and the more well-known Asher Benjamin and Minard Lafever. These publications contained plates of classical details that could be used in the design of various types of structures.

Early courthouses in Utah derived inspiration from the Old City Hall in Salt Lake City, designed by architect William H. Folsom and built in 1866. This structure appears to have been influenced by yet an earlier Salt Lake building, the Council House (1849). Both buildings—square two-story forms with shallow pitched, hipped roofs—reflect Georgian-Federal stylistic features that were repeated in the Washington County Courthouse (1867–74), St. George; the Utah County Courthouse (demolished), Provo; the Box Elder County Courthouse, Brigham City; and the Wasatch County Courthouse (1882, demolished), Heber City. The Old City Hall and all of these courthouses bear a remarkable similarity to two 1830s courthouses in Illinois.[17] The Greek Revival feeling of the Utah structures is mainly confined to decorative features, including bracketed and decorated friezes, octagonal cupolas on some, and classical porticos now replaced with other forms.

The Territorial Capitol begun in Fillmore, Millard County, in 1855 and designed by Truman O. Angell, is another example of the style. Plans called for a Greek cross topped by a Moorish dome; however, only one wing of the structure was completed. The existing wing exhibits a familiarity with the Greek Revival in the use of pilasters on the exterior walls to support a heavy entablature and lunettes above the second floor windows.

Knowledge of Greek Revival had been displayed in the Nauvoo Temple, and certain basic features of it reappeared in Utah church buildings. The Endowment House and the Social Hall, both erected in Salt Lake City in the 1850s, tabernacles, and meetinghouses also adopted features of the style. The Bountiful Tabernacle (1862) is an especially fine example. The main portion of each structure consists of a large

[17] *Ibid.*, 56–57.

rectangular form with shallow pitched roof gable, end to the street in Greek temple fashion, and each contains a different boxed cornice with a decorative frieze. Greek simplicity also influenced chapels or meeting-houses, including the noteworthy white wooden frame Pine Valley Chapel in Washington County. The brick tithing office near to the chapel exhibits this same simplicity. Salt Lake City's original Seventh Ward and Tenth Ward chapels similarly attest to the Greek Revival.[18]

The purest example of Greek Revival in Utah was William H. Folsom's Salt Lake Theatre (1861). Built by the LDS church for public entertainment, its nearly square form and hipped roof were reminiscent of the Old City Hall, but the entrance contained a *distyle-in-antis* Doric portico and Doric frieze. The interior of the theatre was designed by English-trained E.L.T. Harrison.

Gothic Revival. This style became popular in the East through the work and publications of such architects as Richard Upjohn, A. J. Davis, and Calvert Vaux and the publications of the landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing. These publications, known as house pattern books, unlike the earlier builders' guides were for the public and are the forerunners of today's *House Beautiful* type of magazine. Some of the picturesque styles of architecture they introduced included Gothic Revival, Carpenters' Gothic, Italianate, and Swiss Chalet. The Gothic Revival and the Italianate were the two most popular styles in the East. While the Italianate was never popular in Utah, the Gothic Revival regularly appeared during the 1860s to the 1880s in both religious and domestic buildings.

Saint Mark's Episcopal Cathedral, Salt Lake City, was the first church structure in Utah to exhibit the Gothic Revival style. Supposedly taken from a design by Richard Upjohn, the Latin cross plan church was begun in 1870 but not actually completed until 1902.

All four Mormon temples in Utah display elements of the Gothic and Castellated Gothic style believed to have been influenced by the Gothic Revival architecture of early Masonic temples in eastern cities.[19] Of these the Salt Lake Temple (1853–93) is the most Gothic in appearance, with three castellated and pinnacled towers at each end. Another

[18] The Beehive House (1853–55), designed by Truman O. Angell, is sometimes referred to as an example of the Greek Revival. In essence the building, devoid of its two-story porches and monitor roof, is in the Federal style. The porches allude to a feeling for the Greek but contain no details of the style. Visually, the structure does resemble a plantation building but not necessarily one of Greek inspiration.

[19] David S. Andrew and Laurel B. Blank, "The Four Mormon Temples in Utah," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 30 (March 1971), 51–65.

Box Elder Stake Tabernacle, Brigham City, a Gothic Revival inspiration. Photograph by L. V. McNeely. Elevation of a timber-frame cottage by Gervase Wheeler (compare with Watkins-Coleman house on front cover).

Temple Square building in the Gothic style, the Assembly Hall (1873–88), designed by William H. Folsom, exhibits the cruciform plan with pointed windows, numerous buttresses topped with pinnacles, and a spire at the crossing.[20]

Highly popular in church architecture, the Gothic Revival commonly appeared in domestic dwellings as well. House pattern books contained examples of this style in designs ranging from enormous cut-stone Gothic villas to simple wooden Carpenters' Gothic, timber-frame cottages. The largest structure in Utah with Gothic feeling is the Lion House (1855–56) by Truman O. Angell. Its allusions to the Gothic tradition include the castellated portico and the sharply pitched dormers with pointed windows. On a less pretentious scale is a series of Gothic Revival cottages in the small town of Midway, Summit County, most of which were built by the architect-builder John Watkins. Watkins's own house on Main Street illustrates the direct influence of the house pattern book upon Utah architecture. The house was translated into local materials directly from a design of a timber-frame cottage by Gervase Wheeler published in various editions of house pattern books of the 1840s. Instead of constructing a complete timber frame, Watkins utilized the more readily available adobe for the side walls and sandstone for the foundation and quoins. The house, a symmetrical H form, accommodated the

[20] The Coalville Tabernacle (1883, demolished 1971), designed by James Allen, was very similar to the Assembly Hall. The remaining Gothic Revival tabernacle is in Brigham City. Built in the 1870s, it was partially destroyed by fire and then rebuilt in 1890. During the rebuilding a series of high pinnacled buttresses were added, enhancing the Gothic qualities.

polygamist's two wives. The bargeboards' attractive gingerbread decoration on the two front gables and the addition of pinnacles at the peaks of the gables provide an even more attractive building than the house pattern book design.[21]

Examples of Carpenters' Gothic domestic architecture or frame cottages are more difficult to find in Utah than in most states due to the cost of milled lumber in comparison to the less expensive adobe. Fire may also be to blame for the fewer number of existing frame cottages. Two remaining examples of the style in Salt Lake City are the Thomas Quayle house and the August Carlson house.

Octagon Mode. The Octagon Mode refers to the house form made popular by Orson Squire Fowler's book *A Home for All or the Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode of Building* first published in 1848. Fowler was a New York lecturer on phrenology and a prolific writer. He believed the Octagon Mode of building enclosed more floor space than the square, was more easily heated, and that its circulation patterns were more advantageous than other forms.[22] Two octagon houses were erected in Provo and one in Salt Lake City, the latter supposedly designed by E.L.T. Harrison of Salt Lake Theatre fame.[23] The Provo structures include the Strickland and Southworth (1856) houses. Salt Lake City's octagon, a two-story structure, is believed to have been the home of W. S. Godbe.

Second Empire. Visually, the mansard roof and dormer windows are the clues identifying this French style.[24] The building forms are well modeled and very three-dimensional in effect. The earliest structure approaching the style is the Staines-Jennings Mansion (Devereaux House), Salt Lake City, designed by William Paul (ca. 1857). Built for William Staines, it was enlarged in 1867 for the subsequent owner, William Jennings. Brigham Young's last building project, the Gardo House, designed by Joseph Ridges, (begun in 1876, demolished in 1925) was an even finer example of Second Empire. A third, but less pure example of Second Empire is the home of William H. Culmer (ca. 1881) in Salt Lake City.[25]

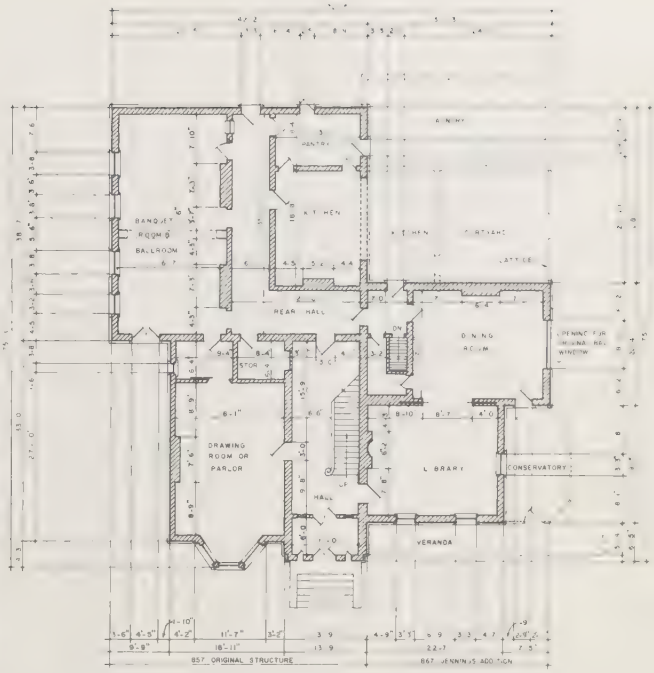
[21] The John L. Edwards home (1868), Willard; the John Ashman home (1870), Fillmore; and the Fort Douglas officers' duplexes (1874–76) illustrate stone buildings with Gothic Revival decoration.

[22] Marcus Wiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to the Styles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 89.

[23] Fred Markham, "Early Architecture, 1847–70," pp. 7, 19, typescript, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

[24] Second Empire originated in France during the reign of Napoleon III (1852–70). The principal structure influencing this style was the New Louvre, built in 1852–57.

[25] The Culmer home's claim to Second Empire style lies solely in the mansard roof and the dormer windows of the tower. The home is well known for its paintings by the original owner's brother, artist H.L.A. Culmer.



Thomas Quayle's Carpenters' Gothic cottage in Salt Lake City displays decorative bargeboards. Floor plan of the Second Empire Staines-Jennings Mansion (Devereaux House) built ca. 1857 and designed by William Paul. HABS drawing.

Stick, Queen Anne, Eastlake, and Shingle Styles. All four styles, popular in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, developed the picturesque use of wood as a building material. Their finest expressions are found in residential architecture, although not exclusively. While fieldwork needs to be done in identifying these styles in the state, there may be fewer examples of these wooden structures in Utah than in neighboring states due to the popularity of brick as a building material.

The Stick style originated in designs found in some of the mid-nineteenth-century house pattern books. Stick designs were not particularly tied to any one style such as Italianate or Gothic Revival but attempted to express the nature of the wooden frame by exposing the stick work or pieces of lumber in both a decorative and a structural manner. The Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd (1875) in Ogden could be considered as an example of a Stick style structure.

The Queen Anne style began with the work of the well-known English architect Richard Norman Shaw during the reign of Queen Anne. The success of the style in America was established as a result of two half-timber structures erected for British government officials at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876. The architectural characteristics of Queen Anne include irregularity of plan and massing, and variety of color and texture through the use of different wall surface materials.

Clockwise from top left: Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd in Ogden designed in the Stick style by Gordon W. Lloyd; a good example of the Eastlake style in the Avenues area of Salt Lake City; popular on the East Coast, the Shingle style is also evident in Utah's largest cities with this example found at Twelfth East and South Temple in Salt Lake City. Photographs by L. V. McNeely and Peter L. Goss.

The Oregon Short Line Railroad Station (ca. 1898) in Logan has been identified as an example of this style.[26]

The Eastlake style, in vogue the longest in California and the West, may be identified by its use of a distinctive wooden ornamentation. A woodworker's dream, this ornamentation is three dimensional in comparison to the flat jig work found on the bargeboards of a Gothic Revival structure. Such elements as porches, verandas, and balconies exhibit the decorative nature of the style named after Charles L. Eastlake, an English architect. Eastlake's book, *Hints on Household Taste,* found a ready audience in America, and the illustrations aided in generating a style which much to the author's dismay bore his name.

Vincent Scully, an American architectural historian, named the fourth style—the Shingle style. Influenced by New England colonial architecture, it represents the Americanization of the Queen Anne. Its trademark, the covering of almost all exterior wall surfaces with wooden shingles, seems to be a reaction to the structural expression of the Stick style. Two examples of the style are found on South Temple Street in Salt Lake City. A structure resembling this style in overall appearance but constructed of stone, brick, and pan-tiles is the McCune Mansion (1901) on North Main in Salt Lake City. The architect S.C. Dallas of Salt Lake copied the design from a New York City residence on Riverside Drive.

Richardsonian Romanesque. The large rounded arch and rock-faced masonry, weightiness, and massiveness are characteristic of this style made popular by the great American architect Henry Hobson Richardson. In a little more than a decade after his return from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris he won the competition for Trinity Church in Boston. Richardson became a highly successful and respected architect in the succeeding years with commissions in the East and Midwest.

The Salt Lake City and County Building by Monheim, Bird, and Proudfoot, completed in 1894, is the finest example of this style in the state. The massive rock-faced, gray sandstone building remained one of the city's tallest structures well into the twentieth century. The central entries on the east and west façades contain the large rounded arch motif which, beginning on the first floor, is carried up the façades and into the tall central tower. Each of its four entries contains elaborately sculpted surface ornament.

[26] Goeldner, *Utah Catalog,* 44.

The Utah Commercial and Savings Bank (1889–90) represents an early Richardsonian Romanesque building by Salt Lake architect Richard K.A. Kletting. The style spread even to smaller Utah towns where it can be seen in public buildings such as courthouses.[27]

Chateauesque. Inspired by the reign of the French king Francis I (1515–47), this style encompassed Gothic tradition and Italian Renaissance ideas. Richard Morris Hunt's designs for the Vanderbilt family in New York and North Carolina popularized the style. Examples of Chateauesque in Utah include the James C. Armstrong house (1893), now the Bertha Eccles Community Art Center, in Ogden, and the Thomas Kearns Mansion (1901), home of the Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City. The architect for the Armstrong house is not known, but Carl M. Neuhausen designed the Kearns Mansion for senator and mining magnate Thomas Kearns.

Beaux-Arts Classicism. The Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, one of the most famous nineteenth-century schools of architecture, gave its name to this style.[28] Richard Morris Hunt was the first American to attend, followed by Henry Hobson Richardson. Numerous students of architecture followed the example of these great American architects. The style achieved fame through displays at exhibitions, in particular Richard Morris Hunt's Administration Building at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Its subsequent use surfaced in libraries, railroad stations, and other quasi-public buildings throughout the country. Utah's examples of this style are no exception: they include the original Salt Lake Public Library of 1905 (now the Hansen Planetarium) and the Denver and Rio Grande Depot (1910).[29] Certain features of Richard Kletting's ornate, octagonal Salt Palace of 1899 also seem apropos to this style.

Renaissance Revival. Inspired by the Italian Renaissance palazzo, this style was used by eastern architects McKim, Mead, and White in the Boston Public Library. Utah examples of Renaissance Revival are confined primarily to Salt Lake City. Private men's clubs in the United States

[27] While not Richardsonian, the Cathedral of the Madeleine by Carl M. Neuhausen was definitely influenced by the Romanesque. Other good examples of Richardsonian Romanesque, such as Fremont School by Henry Monheim, have been demolished.

[28] The style exhibits arched and lintel openings between columns and pilasters and figurative and bas-relief sculpture on the façades. The façades were further enhanced by sunlight's revealing the advancing and receding planes of the building's surface.

[29] The public library was created by the New York firm of Heins and LaFarge and supervised locally by Salt Lake architect Frederick Albert Hale. The depot was designed by Chicago architect Henry Schlachs.

Above: the French-inspired Chateauesque style is seen in the Bertha Eccles Community Art Center in Ogden.
Right: north façade of Monheim, Bird, and Proudfoot's Salt Lake City and County Building, 1894, shows influence of the Romanesque Revival popularized by H. H. Richardson. Below: Salt Lake City Public Library (Hansen Planetarium) is an example of Beaux-Arts Classicism. Utah State Historical Society collections.

exhibited the style as did Frederick Albert Hale's Alta Club (1897) in Salt Lake City. Hale, active in the city at the turn of the century, originally came from Denver and received his architectural training at Cornell University. Salt Lake City's Commercial Club Building on Exchange Place by the firm of Ware and Treganza represents a more colorful and decorative example of the Italian palazzo. At the University of Utah a series of four brick and stone buildings (1901–2) by Richard K.A. Kletting adorn the old campus circle. They provide a subtle contrast to the later Neoclassical Park Building that terminates the vista looking east from Second South. Two commercial structures sheathed in terra-cotta paneling boldly display palazzo characteristics in downtown Salt Lake City: the Kearns Building (1910) and the Hotel Utah (1911). The Mathew H. Walker house (1906) on South Temple is one of the few residences in the style.

The grand finale for Renaissance Revival in Utah was the completion of Kletting's winning design for the Utah State Capitol in 1916. Magnificently situated at the top of State Street, it is the most obvious architectural landmark in the Salt Lake Valley. The structure represents a fine combination of modern construction utilizing a reinforced concrete frame draped in a granite veneer of Classic and Renaissance symmetry. The copper-clad dome, inspired by Maryland's Statehouse at Annapolis and the United States Capitol, illustrates the talented designer's delicate sense of proportion. This building is the *magnum opus* of Kletting's long and highly successful architectural practice.

Neoclassical. As if to compensate for the lack of nineteenth-century Greek Revival architecture, numerous examples of Neoclassical can be found in the state. Generally, buildings in this style are larger than the earlier Greek Revival and more simple than those of Beaux-Arts Classicism. Greek orders are frequently used, and pedimented porticos are common features. The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, helped to popularize Neoclassical design, with McKim, Mead, and White again leading the way with their Pennsylvania Station in New York City. Early examples of the Neoclassical in Utah are confined to mansions, particularly those of Salt Lake architect Frederick Albert Hale: the MacIntyre house (1898), the Keith-Brown Mansion (1900), and the Salisbury Mansion (1905).

Nonresidential buildings also exhibit the style well. Lacking a pedimented portico but incorporating other Classical features is the

Designed by Ware and Treganza, the Commercial Club on Exchange Place in Salt Lake City imitates the Renaissance Revival style made popular by private men's clubs. Utah State Historical Society collections, courtesy of Utah Power and Light.

Salt Lake City Main Post Office (ca. 1910). A short block away the Salt Lake Stock Exchange (1909) offers a well-proportioned example of a commercial structure in the style. One of the largest buildings in the Neoclassical style is Cannon and Fetzer's Park Building (1914), housing the administrative offices of the University of Utah. The Utah County Courthouse in Provo, which replaced an earlier structure, also represents a fine example of the Neoclassical outside Salt Lake City. More research is needed to identify additional examples of the style outside Salt Lake County.

Late Gothic Revival. Religious groups seemed never to tire of the Gothic. Gothic Revival church buildings and "Collegiate Gothic" architecture continued well into the twentieth century. Churches in the style are often larger than the early Gothic Revival and usually well detailed and substantially built of masonry, preferably stone. Their main architectural influence came from the English Perpendicular style of Gothic. Saint Joseph's Catholic Church (1899–1902) in Ogden, designed by

The City and County Building in Provo demonstrates the frequent use of the Neoclassical style in public structures in the early twentieth century. Utah State Historical Society collections, gift of Provo Chamber of Commerce.

Francis C. Woods, represents an early example of the style. Two other turn-of-the-century churches of the style in Ogden are the Methodist and Presbyterian churches designed by G.A.D'Hemecourt. A fine Salt Lake City example is Walter E. Ware's First Presbyterian Church (1903–6) on South Temple, constructed of sandstone from Red Butte Canyon.

No true examples of "Collegiate Gothic" exist in Utah, although Converse Hall (1906), Westminster College, in Salt Lake City aptly fits another English style—the seventeenth-century Jacobean. Features of this early Renaissance style include distinct rectangular windows, pointed gables that terminate above the ridge line, and projecting chimneys and turrets. Converse Hall is built on a rock-faced sandstone foundation with brick and cut sandstone coping on the upper walls. Unfortunately, the building has been painted in recent years, thus disguising and destroying the original color and fine variety of texture.

Commercial Style. This style developed in Chicago with the building achievements of such people as William LeBaron Jenny, responsible for the first steel skeletal frame building and the firms Burnham and Root and Holabird and Roche. Structures of the style are five or more stories in height with flat roofs, and the character of the façades is related to the fenestration or disposition of the windows. Highrise commercial structures in both Salt Lake City and Ogden need further research and identification.

The Constitution Building in Salt Lake City is one of the earliest remaining commercial structures. Built in 1870, its top three stories were added near the end of the century. Richard Kletting's six-story Deseret News Building (1899–1902) establishes, along with newer highrise structures, the northern boundary of the central business district in Salt Lake City. Standing across from Temple Square its façade has been unfortu-

Right: Saint Joseph's Catholic Church, ca. 1900, in Ogden was designed in late Gothic Revival style by Francis C. Woods. Below: Converse Hall, Westminster College, Salt Lake City, revived the English seventeenth-century Jacobean style in 1906. Utah State Historical Society collections, courtesy Arthur L. Crawford and Les Chipman.

The Boston Building (above) and its twin, the Newhouse Building, were completed in 1910 on the north and south corners of Exchange Place and Main Street, Salt Lake City. The two structures represent the Commercial style.

nately "modernized" with metal sheathing. A smaller and simpler commercial building on Broadway and Main streets in Salt Lake is the Judge Building (1906). Further south on Main Street sits the Boston Building (ca. 1910) and its twin, the Newhouse Building (ca. 1910). The twelve-story Newhouse Hotel on the corner of Fourth South and Main Street marks the south end of the central business district. The tallest structure in the area is the Walker Bank Building (ca. 1911), once advertised in a commercial publication as one of the tallest (sixteen stories) buildings west of the Missouri.

Sullivanesque. Louis Sullivan and his student Frank Lloyd Wright are perhaps the two most well known American architects. Sullivan, a leader of the Chicago School of architecture from which the Commercial style evolved, was known as the "father of the skyscraper." He was also noted for his intricate and lavish arabesque decoration applied to the building's surface on both the exterior and the interior. Buildings of this style terminate in flat roofs with extended cornices. The windows in the façade rise above the base formed by first and mezzanine stories in vertical bands and terminate near or just beneath the projecting cornice. Main entrances are usually emphasized by a large, round-arched opening on the ground floor, often accented with ornamentation. Aside from a building in California and one in Colorado, Salt Lake City was the only other western site of a Louis Sullivan building. The Dooly Building, designed in 1891 (demolished in 1961), was a six-story office building with arched windows terminating just below the cornice. True to form, the arched entry was also present in the long side of the building, but the usual rich ornamentation seen in the watercolor rendering of the building was absent. Sullivan reportedly never visited Salt Lake or supervised any of the construction. Two buildings clearly imitating the style are the seven-story McCornick Building (demolished) by the firm of Mendelsohn and Fisher and Kletting's MacIntyre Building (1909) on Main Street.

Rendering of the Dooly Building (1892), Louis Sullivan's only work in Utah and one of three works by the architect in the West. The Dooly Building was demolished in 1961. Courtesy Department of Architecture, University of Utah.

The Prairie School. The work of Frank Lloyd Wright and his Midwest contemporaries gave rise to the Prairie style. Louis Sullivan, considered its spiritual head, was succeeded by his famous pupil, Frank Lloyd Wright. Related to the earlier Chicago School, it grew substantially between the turn of the century and World War I. Most early Prairie School members were employed at one time in the offices of well-known Chicago School architects, and they realized that the earlier school could not successfully produce architecture applicable to a variety of design situations. The Prairie School achieved a style of design that could be effectively utilized in residential, ecclesiastical, and civic commissions. The Prairie School design was clean, precise, and angular, with an emphasis on horizontality. Ornament and references to previous historical styles were for the most part omitted. The building form was often accentuated by the texture of its materials and some abstract patterns in colored and leaded glass windows. Technical innovations, although possibly present in the design, were not emphasized.[30]

Magazines, both professional architectural periodicals and those for the home, reproduced the early designs of Wright and his contemporaries. The impact of these publications was felt across the United States. Utah appears to have been especially taken with the Prairie School designs during one of its active building periods between 1910 and 1920. Several Utah architects trained in large Chicago firms before and after the turn of the century and saw firsthand the works of Wright, Walter Burley Griffin, Francis Barry Byrnes, and William Drummond.

Some of the most fortunate Utah architects, such as Taylor Woolley in the first decade of the century and, later, Clifford Evans (ultimately a partner with Woolley and Miles Miller), studied with Frank Lloyd Wright. A faithful Wright disciple, Woolley accompanied the master and his son Lloyd Wright to Europe in 1910 where he helped trace the drawings for the famous Wasmuth Portfolio. This publication became one of the most influential works in all of modern architecture, affecting the designs of such famous modern European architects as Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, and Le Corbusier. Woolley worked for Francis Barry Byrne, Walter Burley Griffin, and other Chicago architects after his return from Europe. Then in 1916 he returned to Salt Lake City and entered into partnership with Miles Miller and Clifford Evans. Strangely enough, little of Woolley's work had the visual mark of Wright's

[30] H. Allen Brooks, *The Prairie School: Frank Lloyd Wright and His Midwest Contemporaries* (Toronto, 1972), 4, 5, 7, 8.

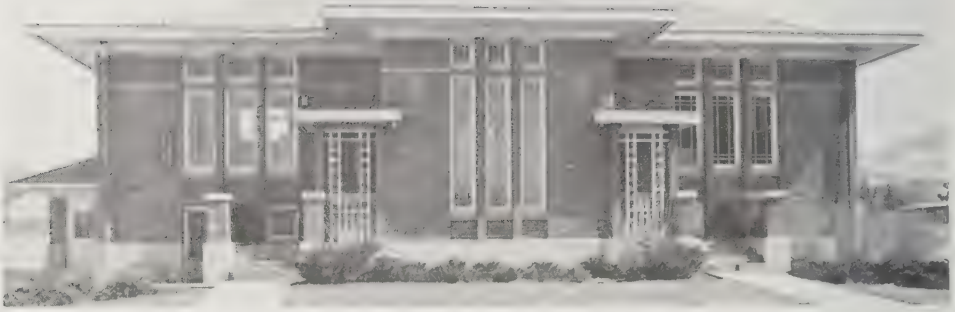
The Becker house, ca. 1918, on Van Buren Street in Ogden is a sensitive example of the Prairie School style of Frank Lloyd Wright and his contemporaries in the Midwest. Photograph by Peter L. Goss.

influence upon it. Woolley was admired as a sensitive designer of homes and small buildings, with a strong interest in landscape architecture.

The Prairie School residential homes, many of which are architect designed, lie scattered throughout the more prestigous areas of Salt Lake Valley. A partial list includes the Snow house on Eleventh Avenue, the Weiler house on Perry Avenue, and the Marchand house on Second Avenue. The finest examples are found in Ogden, especially noteworthy is the Becker house on Van Buren Street. More research needs to be done on the houses of this style.

Religious structures, particularly wardhouses, have been designed in the Prairie School style. Pope and Burton's Liberty Stake First Ward (Park Stake First Ward), designed in 1910, shows the firm's familiarity with several early designs by Wright and a church in Chicago by William Drummond.[31] Pope and Burton went on to win the design for the Alberta Temple (1913) of the LDS church and several church buildings in Ogden, all showing the influence of this style. Miles Miller designed the Parowan Third Ward (1914) in Iron County, a building that owes a debt to both the designs of Wright and those of Pope and Burton. Cannon and Fetzer's contribution to the style in Utah includes the Eighth

[31] Peter L. Goss, "Utah's Architectural Heritage: Park Stake First Ward, Pope and Burton, Architects," *Utah Architect* (Summer 1974), pp. 14–16.



The Mount Pleasant Public Library represents civic architecture in the Prairie School style. The Sanpete County structure was designed by Salt Lake architects Ware and Treganza. Photograph by Peter L. Goss.

Ward Liberty Stake chapel (1922) in Salt Lake and the Salt Lake City Technical High School (1911). Another structure in the style that needs identification is the Mount Pleasant Public Library in Sanpete County.

The Bungalow. Named but not patterned after a dwelling known to have existed in India, this style gained fame with the American arts and crafts movement after the turn of the century. The bungalow was a comfortable looking, low-spreading house that radiated a sense of shelter, emphasized by the textural qualities of the beams, rafters, shingles, bricks, and cobblestones composing its structure. Bungalow plans were advertised as open in quality and spatially economical. One authority, early in the

Frank Lloyd Wright's Larkin Company Building of 1904 in Buffalo, New York, was a direct influence upon Cannon and Fetzer's 1911 Salt Lake Technical High School. Photograph by L. V. McNeely.

The bungalow was one of the most popular residential styles of the early twentieth century in Utah. This one in Pleasant Grove illustrates in particular the influence of the California bungalow. Photograph by Peter L. Goss.

twentieth century, identified two regional bungalow types: the Chicago style bungalow and the California bungalow.[32] The California bungalow became the most popular type, influenced by the famous California firm of Greene and Greene who designed fine wooden, orientally inspired, California residences.[33] From 1910 into the 1920s bungalow plan books were published, mainly in California, and disseminated all over the country. The bungalow, and particularly the California bungalow, was without a doubt the most popular home in Utah during the first quarter of the twentieth century. Bungalows are seen virtually all over the state, and the best examples of the style need to be identified.[34]

1920 to the Present. No systematic study of architecture in Utah during the past fifty years has been undertaken. Design in the late 1920s and in the 1930s and 1940s appears not to have followed trends set in other parts of the country. The International style and the Art Deco or

[32] Brooks, *The Prairie School,* 20.

[33] See William Current and Karen Current, *Greene and Greene: Architects in the Residential Style* (Fort Worth, 1974).

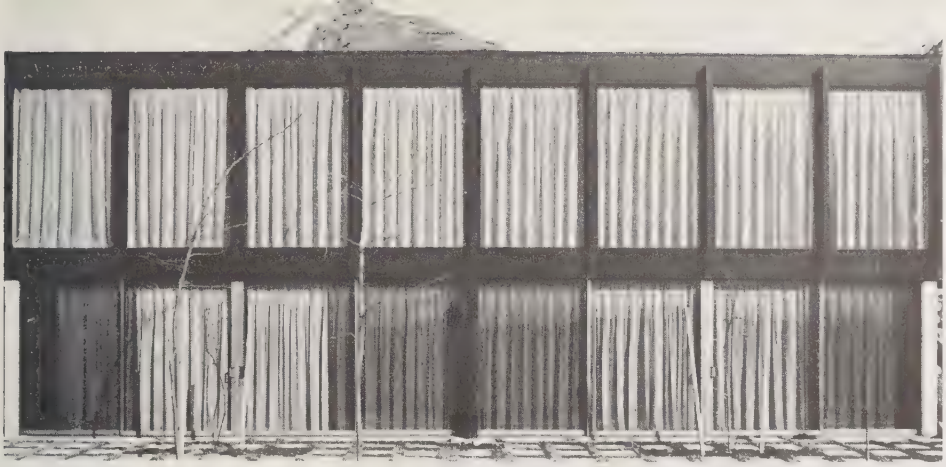
[34] Construction in this style seems to have been in two waves: 1910–20 and late 1920s to early 1930s. Those of the latter period were usually constructed of brick with a hipped roof and ran deep on the narrow, subdivided lots in Utah cities and towns. These second-wave homes bear some vague similarities to the Prairie School.

The Ogden-Weber Municipal Building (above) and the Ogden High School, both by Hodgson and McClenahan, are two of the finest Utah examples of Art Deco style. They were built in 1938 and 1936 respectively. Photograph by Dave Farr.

Moderne style had little effect in the state — with the exception of the 1936 Ogden High School and the 1938 Ogden-Weber Municipal Building (Art Deco) both by Hodgson and McClenahan — perhaps because of the generally smaller scope of projects being built in Utah in comparison to those in the more populated areas of the country. Even after World War II the new designs of the late 1940s and early 1950s were pale imitations of the sources that inspired them, and this continued to occur even as late as the 1960s, despite the fact that many buildings reflect a desire on the part of the design profession to keep abreast of styles in other parts of the country. Several factors contribute to this situation: economics, the general level of design talent, and a lack of good out-of-state competition for the stimulation of better design.[35]

In Utah as in other states examples of styles that have flourished since 1945 can be found, including the Miesian, New Formalism, Wrightian, and Brutalism.[36] John Sugden's work since the late 1950s stands out in the Miesian mode or in the manner of his professor and first boss, Mies van der Rohe. The Green River School (1955), in association with Dean L. Gustavson, Makoff's Fashion Store (1964), Regis Medicus Clinic (1966), and several residences are examples of his architectural statements in steel and glass.

[35] For example, the First Security Bank complex (1954) by Bank Corporation of North America architects was no doubt heavily influenced by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill's Lever House (1950–52) in New York, but in materials and design the Utah structure comes nowhere near achieving a good imitation.



The David Rose residence in Salt Lake City and the Regis Medicus Clinic, a truss façade structure in Holladay, were both designed in 1966 by John Sugden, a former student and apprentice of Mies van der Rohe. Photographs courtesy of Peter L. Goss and John Sugden.

The buildings of New Formalism are often described as free standing blocks containing symmetrical elevations and flat projecting roofs. Decoration, where present, consists of patterned screens of various materials. Columns used in supporting buildings of this style are often thicker or more exaggerated than those of other modern styles. Nationally known architects such as Phillip Johnson, Edward D. Stone, and Minouri Yamasaki design in this fashion. The Salt Lake Library (1964) by Edwards and Daniels of Salt Lake, the Marriott Library (1967) at the University of Utah by Lorenzo S. Young, the Metropolitan Hall of Justice complex (1963–66) by Harold K. Beecher and the new LDS Church Office Building (1973) by George Cannon Young exemplify this style.

The only Wrightian structure in Utah is a late 1950s house in Bountiful, designed by Wright in conjunction with the Taliesin Fellowship in Arizona. The site in Bountiful Canyon was never visited by the architect himself.

New Brutalism is not easily defined, but it often involves the exposure of unfinished building materials and structure. Concrete, either alone or in conjunction with other materials is often utilized. The style was influenced by numerous architects, including Peter and Alison Smithson of England, the American Louis Kahn, and the French-Swiss architect Le Corbusier. The Behavioral Sciences Building (1970) by Panushka and Peterson and the Art and Architecture Center (1970) by Edwards and Daniels on the University of Utah campus, both utilizing *Béton brut* or exposed rough textured concrete, may be classified under this style.

Technological Developments. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century technological developments related to buildings and architecture are numerous, but some unique Utah examples must be mentioned. Henry Grow's engineering feat in the design of the Salt Lake Tabernacle was definitely the most significant nineteenth-century technological development in Utah. Grow boasted at the time of the building's completion in 1867 that "it is the largest hall in the world unsupported by columns." The famous turtle shell roof was built of special trusses after the Remington Patent of Lattice Bridges. Two hundred and fifty feet long and one hundred and fifty feet wide, the tabernacle could seat a capacity audience of thirteen thousand. The next significant development in the early use of a new material—reinforced concrete—was made by none other than architect Richard K.A. Kletting. Kletting's early experiences with the material may have dated from his work in France in the 1880s. His earliest use of reinforced concrete in Utah was reportedly in the Enos

The Art and Architecture Center, 1970, was designed by Edwards and Daniels and constructed of exposed reinforced concrete, or Béton brut. *Photograph courtesy of the University of Utah.*

Wall Mansion (1905) and later in the frame of the MacIntyre Building (1909), prior to his design for the State Capitol. These projects in reinforced concrete were nearly contemporaneous with the early experiences of the famous French architect August Perret. Not until the late 1950s did another significant development take place: the construction of the multistory IBM Building on South Temple. Its design by Colorado architect Jim Hunter utilized a unique structural system of barrel vaulted, post tensioned, arch construction in concrete. In 1961 Lee Knell, Provo architect, created a shell structure in that city by forming it over a mound of earth that was subsequently removed from under the shell. Other developments include the only example of a tension cable roof structure in Salt Lake's Salt Palace (1969) by Bonneville Architects and the space truss structure of the Marriott Activities Center (1972) on the campus of Brigham Young University, Provo.

Conclusion

Abundant cultural resources exist in Utah's brief architectural history. The strong vernacular tradition of the early years testifies to the resourcefulness and industry of the Utah pioneer. Despite the state's early isolation, a true skill is displayed in Utah's adaptions of national styles to fit regional needs and conditions. Toward the end of the nineteenth century the improved communications systems and the increase in talented designers closed a gap that once existed between the architecture of the East and the West. While numerous examples of vernacular and stylistic architecture presently exist to tell the story of Utah's cultural heritage, the recognition of proper sites and their preservation is still crucial.

[36] Wiffen, *American Architecture,* 249–80.

The impressive Manti Temple, in the final stage of construction, towers above a group of simple Mormon dwellings in this George Edward Anderson photograph, Nicholas G. Morgan Collection, Utah State Historical Society.

William Harrison Folsom: Pioneer Architect

BY PAUL L. ANDERSON

WHEN WILLIAM HARRISON FOLSOM peacefully died at midnight on March 19, 1901, just six days short of his eighty-sixth birthday, he brought to a close a lifetime that had been anything but uneventful. A New England-born convert to the Latter-day Saint church, he left a record of experience that reads like a summary of early Mormon history. He received baptism in an icy river, became personally acquainted with Joseph Smith, assisted in the building of the Nauvoo Temple, preached and electioneered for the church, fought in the Battle of Nauvoo, and suffered with the expelled Saints in Iowa in the winter of 1846. Although hanged by an anti-Mormon mob, he lived to take part in the California

gold rush, to cross the plains to Utah, to assume positions of leadership in the church, to take three wives, and to raise twenty-three children, one of whom became a prominent wife of Brigham Young. His most important contributions, however, were his accomplishments as an architect and builder. He was a talented architect, perhaps the most skilled designer of his generation in Utah, and he used his considerable abilities in a long and prolific career that included most of the significant buildings of the period. However, although his contributions to the history of Utah were substantial and although some of his best buildings are still standing today, Folsom's name has been almost forgotten. The only extensive printed account of his life is a family history published privately in 1973.[1] And in the collection of portraits of Mormon leaders in the LDS church archives, a handsomely framed picture by John Hafen was only recently identified as a portrait of William H. Folsom.

William Harrison Folsom was born March 25, 1815, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the third child of a carpenter. His ancestors were among the earliest settlers in New Hampshire, and both sides of the family included carpenters and owners of sawmills. In William's youth, the family moved to Buffalo, New York, where his father established a building business and helped to construct the new city docks for the Erie Canal. William learned the trade of a carpenter from his father, and by the time he married Zerviah Eliza Clark at the age of twenty-two, he was already an accredited joiner.[2]

William and Eliza had established a home in Buffalo and had added two children to their family when they first heard about the Latter-day Saints. They became believers in the new faith, and on February 17, 1842, they were baptized in the Niagara River in a hole cut through twenty-eight inches of ice.[3] In the fall of 1843 William went to Nauvoo, became personally acquainted with Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and began working as a carpenter on the temple. Here he met and worked with other skilled artisans and craftsmen who had joined the church: William

Mr. Anderson is an architectural designer and historian. Much of the research for this article was done while the author was a Summer Research Fellow in the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The author wishes to express appreciation for the generous assistance of the church in this project.

[1] Nina Folsom Moss, *A History of William Harrison Folsom* (Salt Lake City, 1973). This is the most complete source on Folsom's life, containing family recollections and original research.

[2] *Ibid.*, 17. A joiner is a carpenter skilled in such specialized tasks as building stairs and finishing interior woodwork.

[3] "Reminiscences of Church History," *Deseret Evening News*, October 3, 1910, p. 4. The thickness of the ice at the Folsom baptism seems to be a matter of particular concern in several biographical sources. In some accounts the ice is several inches thicker than stated in this article.

Weeks, Truman O. Angell, Elijah Fordham, Miles Romney, and others. Folsom was assigned as a missionary to Ohio the following spring, and while preaching and campaigning in behalf of Joseph Smith's candidacy for president of the United States, he received word of the assassination of Joseph and Hyrum. He returned to Nauvoo in the fall and resumed his work on the temple.

When the main body of the church began to leave Nauvoo under the direction of Brigham Young in February 1846, Folsom was asked to remain behind to help complete the interior of the Nauvoo Temple. He was one of the small group present at the dedication of the building in May, and he remained in Nauvoo throughout the summer as the hostility of the surrounding community increased. In September, violence erupted as a force of over fifteen hundred men descended on the city. Folsom was one of the hundred and fifty men who offered futile resistance to the mob for several days in what became known as the Battle of Nauvoo.[4] Hopelessly outnumbered, the Mormons were compelled to abandon the city. As part of this group, the Folsom family left without provisions and camped in the open for nearly three weeks on the Iowa shore of the Mississippi River awaiting the arrival of relief wagons from the main body of the church in Winter Quarters. During this most difficult period, Folsom was among the eyewitnesses of the "miracle of the quail," when a well-timed flock of birds landed in the Mormon camp, providing food for the desperate refugees.

When rescue wagons arrived, Folsom and his family did not return with them to Winter Quarters. Instead, they walked to Farmington, Iowa, where they shared a vacant house on the outskirts of town with another Mormon family. Anti-Mormon feeling was also present in this area. The Folsom's house was occasionally stoned, and once William came close to losing his life. Early in 1847 while in Farmington by himself, he was surrounded by an unfriendly and intoxicated group of men. According to a much later account of the incident, the group recognized him as a Mormon, tied a rope around his neck, threw it over the awning of a store, and lifted him off his feet three times. The third time he was left hanging while the men retired into the store. He was saved when an acquaintance arrived on the scene and released him.[5] Shortly after this experience, Folsom understandably moved his family to a safer location.

[4] "Journal History of the Church," September 10–11, 1846, Archives Division, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Folsom's description of the Battle of Nauvoo as recorded by Andrew Jenson is the official Mormon account of the event.

[5] "Reminiscences of Church History."

Folsom was able to locate friends and employment in Keokuk, and his family remained there for the next two years while many of the Mormons headed west to the Great Basin. According to a family tradition, during this time Folsom demonstrated his prowess as a builder by adding a lower story to an existing two-story brick home that had been left awkwardly high above a newly excavated street. Folsom and several assistants raised the house on jacks, built a street-level story, and then lowered the original house onto the new foundation.[6] The house is still standing.

In 1849 William Folsom turned his energies in a new direction. With financial backing from a friend, he left his wife and five children in Iowa while he departed for the gold fields of California. His route took him down the Mississippi to New Orleans and by ship to San Francisco via the Isthmus of Panama. He stayed in California for nearly two years, mining and doing construction work in two areas with appropriately colorful names, Rough and Ready and Coyote Diggings. In the spring of 1851 he helped to organize the Deer Creek Water Company and supervised the construction of a canal nine miles long. The following year he sold his share of the company and headed home with his earnings of $10,000 in cash and gold. For his return trip he took the longer but safer route, stopping in Hawaii, passing around Cape Horn, and arriving in Philadelphia in the fall.[7] He met his family in Ohio, and, after a brief visit with his father in Buffalo, returned to Keokuk. His visit to Buffalo added another dramatic incident to his biography. Warned by a mysterious voice not to board a boat bound for Cleveland, he delayed his departure and escaped a disastrous collison that took the lives of nearly all the passengers.[8]

Back in Keokuk, he divided his fortune with the friend who had paid the expenses of his voyage to California and invested his own share of the money in a grocery business. In 1854 Folsom sold his business and fitted himself out with three wagons to come west. He arrived at the Missouri River more than a week too late to join the last wagon train of the season, however, and took his family to Council Bluffs for the winter. He quickly found work in the area, since Omaha across the river was experiencing a building boom as the new territorial capital of Nebraska. The situation was so favorable that Folsom stayed in Council

[6] Moss, *History of William Harrison Folsom*, 25.

[7] "Folsom, William Harrison, 1815-1901," dictation of William Folsom at Manti, Sanpete County, Utah, 1886, manuscript, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.

[8] "Reminiscences of Church History."

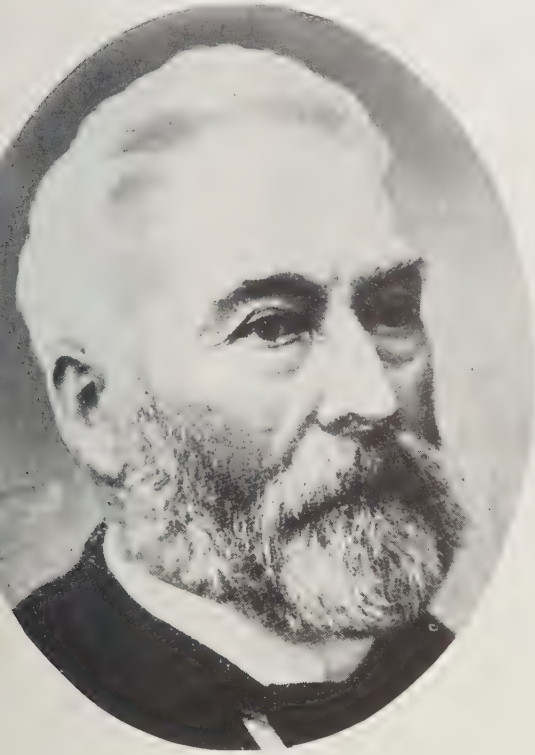
Bluffs for the next six years, operating a successful construction business and serving as branch president for the church. His most notable professional achievement during this time was his work on the territorial capitol in Omaha. Folsom contracted with the architects of the capitol to build the colonnade for this two-story classical building. The columns were roughly forty feet high and crowned with elaborate Corinthian capitals. Some measure of Folsom's success as a builder during this period can also be taken from the fact that the man who purchased his business in 1860 was obliged to hire "several contractors, builders, and carpenters" in order to complete the work already in progress.[9]

In 1860, at the age of forty-five, William Folsom made preparations for the second time to go to the Great Basin. Together with his wife and six children, he joined a wagon train led by Joseph W. Young, brother of Brigham Young. This was a well-organized company, the first to make the round-trip from Utah to the Missouri River and back again in a single season. On October 3, 1860, the Folsoms finally arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. Shortly thereafter, William Folsom opened a shop on Main Street and announced his intention to do business as an architect.

When Folsom arrived on the scene in Salt Lake City, he brought with him experience and skills that were unique in the territory. He had traveled extensively in the United States, visiting Saint Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Cleveland, and other cities. In addition, he had lived in the Midwest for more than a decade longer than many of the pioneers. During this time he had gained experience and confidence as a builder, and he had profited from the opportunity to learn about the newer styles of architecture that had become popular since the departure of most of the Mormons. As a result, the buildings he designed in the next few years reflected a greater sophistication and a better understanding of architectural styles than those of most of his Utah contemporaries.

Folsom's career was also aided by the fortunate timing of his arrival. Trade with the recently arrived United States Army had brought increased prosperity to the Mormon settlements. Salt Lake City was expanding rapidly, and a great deal of building was underway. Moreover, Truman O. Angell, the overworked church architect who had designed most of the principal buildings of the city, was in poor health. Consequently, Folsom's abilities were recognized quickly. He was appointed

[9] Statement by F.T.C. Johnson in the 1907 Pottawattamie County, Iowa, centennial brochure, quoted in Nina F. Moss, "Biographical Sketch of William Harrison Folsom," April 6, 1967, LDS Archives.



William Harrison Folsom

assistant church architect within a few months of his arrival, and he was soon entrusted with the design and supervision of important projects.

His first work for the church was the preparation of plans for the Seventies Hall of Science, a building to be used for instructional meetings. While the plans were completed and bricks were being manufactured for the building by June 1861, records do not reveal what became of the project.[10] Shortly after beginning his work on the Seventies Hall, however, Folsom was assigned to make plans for his first major building, the Salt Lake Theatre. This project was carried out under the personal direction and patronage of Brigham Young. Constructed on the corner of State and First South streets on a lot owned by the Mormon leader, it was largely financed by the windfall profits Young had made in his purchases of surplus property sold by the United States Army as it returned east to enter the Civil War.[11]

The theatre was William Folsom's first opportunity to demonstrate his skill in the Mormon community. When completed, the structure was eighty by one hundred forty-four feet at the foundation and stood ninety feet high, making it the largest building in the city. It was built with local materials, even the huge roof trusses being constructed with locally produced nails and wooden pegs. In its architectural design, the theatre reflected the knowledge which Folsom had gained during his work in the Midwest. While most of the structures in the city had been built in a simplified Georgian or Federal style reminiscent of Nauvoo, the theatre was a correct and handsomely proportioned example of the newer Greek Revival style. On the exterior, the building was rectangular in shape,

[10] "The Seventies Hall of Science," *Deseret News*, June 26, 1861, p. 132.

[11] Myrtle E. Henderson, *A History of the Theatre in Salt Lake City* (Evanston, Ill., 1934), 49.

its hipped roof crowned with a balustrade. The walls, constructed of cut stone and adobe block, were plastered and decorated with proper classical pilasters, blank windows, and a decorative frieze of the Doric order. The front entrance was given emphasis with an open porch supported by two Doric columns. The detailing of the columns, frieze, and other elements demonstrated Folsom's understanding of the classical style.

In contrast with the rather austere exterior, the interior of the building was finished in elaborate fashion. The three balconies formed a graceful curve around the rear and sides of the auditorium, supported on slender classical columns. The stage was surrounded by an arched proscenium that included four elaborately decorated boxes. In completing the interior decorations, Folsom had the assistance of others, including E. L. T. Harrison, an English convert who arrived in the valley late in 1861 from London where he had received architectural training. According to one contemporary account, the elaborate chandelier was the work of another designer—it was constructed from a cart wheel after designs created by Brigham Young.[12]

Although contemporary descriptions of the Salt Lake Theatre were silent on the matter, many later accounts have stated that the building was modeled after the famous Drury Lane Theatre in London. A comparison of the two buildings reveals some similarities. Folsom had no firsthand knowledge of the Drury Lane, although Truman Angell may have visited it on his tour of London theatres, and many English immigrants and returned missionaries (including Brigham Young) may have been familiar with it. E. L. T. Harrison was aware of the building; however, his arrival in Salt Lake late in 1861 after the theatre was under construction limited his influence to the interior designs.[13] In any case, although the two theatres were similar in their general plans, it is evident that the Salt Lake Theatre was no simple copy of the Drury Lane. For example, the arrangement of windows and doors on the main façade of the Salt Lake Theatre was virtually the same as the London building, but the Drury Lane lacked the columned porch, and its doors were arched rather than rectangular. Other sources may also have influenced the building in Salt Lake City. The columns at the porch were about the same size as those Folsom had constructed for the capitol in Omaha only a few years before, and the composition of porch, columns, and pilasters on the façade was identical to many Greek Revival churches

[12] F.H. Ludlow, *The Heart of the Continent* (London, 1870), 370–71.
[13] Alice Merrill Horne, *Devotees and Their Shrines* (Salt Lake City, 1914), 23–24.

that Folsom may have seen in the East. Moreover, the hipped roof with a balustrade was already a familiar element in Salt Lake City, having appeared on the Beehive House, the Council House, and other structures.

That the completed theatre was impressive is confirmed by the reports of non-Mormon visitors of the period. Samuel Bowles who saw it in 1865 wrote, "It ranks, alike in capacity and elegance of structure and finish, along with the opera houses and academies of music in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Cincinnati." [14] The *Deseret News* observed in its account of the dedication of the building in 1862 that William H. Folsom "has certainly gained for himself great credit as an architect and practical builder. . . ." [15]

Shortly after construction of the Salt Lake Theatre was begun, Truman O. Angell's health declined to the point that he resigned as church architect, recommending William Folsom as his successor. In the October conference of 1861, Folsom was officially sustained in this position. The following year he was ordained a high priest and sustained as a member of the High Council of the Salt Lake Stake. In this capacity he spoke frequently at church meetings and occasionally accompanied Brigham Young and other church leaders on their tours of outlying settlements. His standing among the leaders of the church was further enhanced in January 1863 when, with the marriage of his daughter Amelia to Brigham Young, he became a father-in-law to the Mormon leader who was fourteen years his senior. The same year, Folsom purchased two-and-one-half acres of land on the corner of South Temple and First West streets, a neighborhood occupied by many church leaders. This lot was to be his home for much of the remainder of his life.

In his new calling as church architect, Folsom had a major role in the construction of several important buildings in the city. The foundations of the Salt Lake Temple had been buried during the preparations to defend the valley from Johnston's army in 1858, and no work had been done on the building since that time. Folsom supervised the reexcavation of this stonework. Fears that the foundations were too weak to provide a permanent base for the huge building precipitated the decision to rebuild part of them before resuming construction. Folsom directed this and other work on the temple throughout the next five years.

[14] Samuel Bowles, *Across the Continent . . .* (Springfield, Mass., 1865), 103.
[15] "The New Theatre," *Deseret News*, March 12, 1862, p. 290.

Folsom also figured prominently in the construction of the Salt Lake Tabernacle. Since the early 1850s, many of the meetings of the church had been conducted in the Old Tabernacle, a simple adobe structure with a gable roof and a semicircular apse which had been designed by Truman O. Angell. In 1863 Brigham Young asked Folsom to prepare plans for a larger tabernacle to be built to the west of the temple. In April 1863 Folsom and two of his sons stepped off the location of the new structure, and by June the building had been designed to the point where a detailed description could be published. According to this description, the building would seat nine thousand people. Designed as a long structure with semicircular ends, the tabernacle would have no interior columns and the roof would be supported by lattice arches. This initial plan called for the arches to support a pointed roof with three octagon domes or ventilators on the ridge.[16] After the preparation of the original design, the shape of the roof was altered to follow the curve of the arched supports. The sandstone piers that were to support the tabernacle were built first and allowed to settle for a year. Folsom's work on the building seems to have been limited to the preparation of general plans. Henry Grow, a bridge builder who had purchased the right to use the patented lattice truss before coming west was superintendent of construction on this project, and the exterior cornice and the interior finish of the building were the work of Truman Angell.

Only a few months after the commencement of the new tabernacle, preparations were made for the erection of a new city hall on First South just east of State Street. Folsom submitted plans for the new building in January 1864. Although similar in form to the existing Council House and courthouse that had been designed earlier by Angell, the city hall demonstrated again Folsom's superior sense of proportion and his familiarity with more elaborate styles of architectural ornament. While the side and rear walls of the structure were built of rather plain sandstone crowned with a simple bracketed cornice and a solid balustrade, the principal façade was more elaborate. The large windows on the upper and lower stories were flanked by pilasters, the lower ones deeply grooved in classical fashion. The central bay of the façade was larger than the others, containing the main entrance surmounted with a balcony supported on brackets. The areas below the upper windows and below the main cornice were decorated with a distinctive pattern of circles and crosses. The cornice and balustrade were also enriched with elaborate brackets and

[16] "The New Tabernacle," *Deseret News,* June 3, 1863, p. 387.

open fretwork. On top of the hipped roof was an octagonal cupola set on a square base and decorated with pilasters, cornices, pinnacles, and circular spaces for the faces of a clock. The size of the cupola was in better proportion to the rest of the structure than those on Angell's earlier buildings had been. The interiors were finished with fine plaster cornices, ceiling medallions, and window frames in Greek Revival style. The building was a handsome and substantial structure, an impressive achievement for the time and place.[17]

During his tenure as church architect, Folsom also participated in a variety of other activities. Besides his supervision of the theatre, city hall, tabernacle, and temple, he consulted in the design of other church buildings, including the beautiful tabernacle in St. George.[18] He participated in the organization of the short-lived Deseret Academy of Art in 1863 with such other notables as E. L. T. Harrison, C. R. Savage, George M. Ottinger, and Daniel Weggeland. He also served on a civic committee which protested the pollution of the city's water supply by the army camp in Red Butte Canyon. In 1864 he formed a partnership for contracting and building with George Romney, an association that Tullidge later described as the "leading contractors and builders in the city." [19] Folsom's personal life during this time was also eventful. His wife died in the summer of 1863, and he remarried in December of the same year. Two years later, he took a second wife.

The responsibilities of church architect weighed heavily on Folsom, and he finally requested to be released from this position. Truman O. Angell returned as church architect in April 1867, and William Folsom and Truman Angell, Jr., were sustained as his assistants.

Much of Folsom's attention in the next few years was directed toward private construction projects that included some of the more important buildings of the city. Together with George Romney, he built several large commercial buildings, including the Ransohoff Building and the much-admired Amussen Building on Main Street. The latter, a fireproof structure, was one of the first local buildings to have indoor plumb-

[17] The city hall was moved from its original location to Capitol Hill in Salt Lake City between 1961 and 1963. The building is commonly referred to as the Council House today.

[18] Hazel B. Bradshaw, "Our Early Meeting House (St. George)," in Kate B. Carter, comp., *Heart Throbs of the West,* 12 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1939–51), 3:64. Mrs. Bradshaw states, "Brother Folsom was Church architect at this time and lent considerable aid in planning and designing the building." In a letter from Hazel B. Bradshaw to Nina F. Moss, Mrs. Bradshaw confirmed that this information was given to her by Miles Romney. Moss, *History of William Harrison Folsom,* 37.

[19] "Our Industries and Industrial Men," *Tullidge's Quarterly Magazine,* 3 (October 1883), 35.

The Gardo House, also called Amelia's Palace, was located on the southwest corner of South Temple and State streets. Utah State Historical Society collections.

ing. It included both a jewelry store and a residence. A large porch on the second floor extended over the sidewalk providing a place for Sunday band concerts. In another venture, Folsom and Romney combined with Thomas Latimer and George Taylor to set up the first steam-driven planing mill in the valley.[20] Folsom's interest also extended to the construction of various types of vehicles, and he served for a time as secretary to a local group of carriage, wagon, and sleigh makers.[21]

In October 1869 Folsom was called on a short-term mission for the church. He spent the winter in Buffalo, New York, returning the following spring with his sister, stepmother, and half-brother. Following his return, he visited Provo at the request of Brigham Young to remodel the old seminary building and tithing office.[22] In October of the following year, Folsom was called on another mission during which he visited Ohio, New Jersey, Virginia, and other eastern states, preaching and observing architecture in these areas. He returned to Utah the following spring.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] "Mechanics Meeting," *Deseret News,* June 17, 1868, p. 149, and "Co-operative," *Deseret News,* June 24, 1868, p. 157.

[22] "Journal History," July 19, 1870, p. 1.

Folsom's business ventures continued to prosper in the next few years. In 1873 he and Romney built a three-story brick building for the Dinwoodey Furniture Company. The same year, he also built a short street through his own property in order to subdivide and develop the land. The street, Folsom Avenue, still bears his name today. During this time, in association with Joseph Ridges, the builder of the tabernacle organ, Folsom designed and constructed one of the most famous residences in the city, the Gardo House that Brigham Young intended to use for entertaining important guests. It was designed in elaborate Second Empire style, with mansard roofs, arched dormer windows, elaborate bay windows, a tower, and a porch. The style of the building reflected Folsom's recent contact with the fashionable architecture of the East. The decorative elements of the style were used with consistency and skill, the richly decorated windows set off against plain areas on the exterior walls. Despite the elaboration of ornament, the building appeared substantial, well proportioned, and unified. The interior included fine wood and plaster details and a graceful staircase. Although begun in 1873, construction on the house progressed slowly and the building was not completed until after Brigham Young's death.[23]

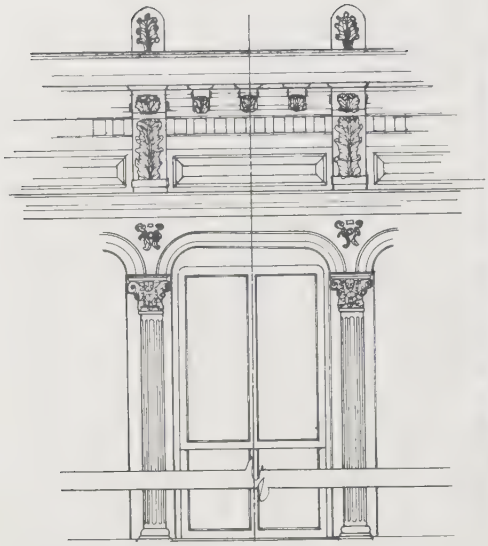
In 1874 Folsom supervised the addition of a new wing to the famous Devereaux House that was then owned by William Jennings.[24] He also altered the style of the existing portions of the home somewhat, adding dormer windows with classical pediments and decorative metal railings to the mansard roofs.

In May 1874 Folsom was chosen to be a counselor in the presidency of the Salt Lake Stake, the presiding council for the church in all of the Salt Lake Valley and surrounding areas. In the fall of the same year, he was asked to go to St. George to direct the work on the temple there. The superintendent of construction, Miles Romney, had broken his leg in a fall. Folsom sold his interest in his construction business before leaving. His health deteriorated in St. George, however, and he returned to Salt Lake after only a few months.

In 1875 Folsom formed a partnership with Obed Taylor, a recently arrived architect from San Francisco, and began work on yet another important monument in the city, the handsome iron-fronted building

[23] The Gardo House was completed in 1881 and was used by John Taylor and Wilford Woodruff during their terms as presidents of the LDS church and was also rented for a time. It was sold by the church in 1901 and finally razed in 1921 to make way for the Federal Reserve Bank.

[24] Moss, *History of William Harrison Folsom*, 54.



While ZCMI has been expanded and remodeled many times in the century since Folsom designed this building, its cast-iron front has been preserved. Historic American Buildings Survey drawing and Utah Writers Project photograph, Salt Lake City Public Library.

for ZCMI, the church department store. Folsom had seen iron-front buildings in his travels in the East, and Taylor was familiar with the many Italianate iron commercial buildings in San Francisco. The ZCMI building was the first example of the style in Utah. The three-story façade was composed of slender Corinthian columns, flattened arches, and an elaborate cornice topped with a balustrade and a broken pediment. Like the city hall, the central bay of the ZCMI façade was wider than the others, giving prominence to the central entrance. Folsom and Taylor not only designed the building, but they also made the forms and fabricated the iron parts of the structure.[25] Begun in 1875, the structure was completed the following year.

In 1875 Brigham Young made preparations for the construction of two regional temples, one in Logan and the other in Manti. Because Truman Angell was occupied with church projects in Salt Lake City and St. George, other architects were appointed for these buildings. Truman O. Angell, Jr., was appointed for the Logan building, and Joseph A. Young, Brigham Young's oldest son, was assigned to Manti. However, when Joseph Young suddenly died during a visit to the Manti site in the summer of 1875, William Folsom was appointed to serve in his place.

[25] *Ibid.*, 55–56.

Folsom was sixty-two years old at the time. During the decade he spent in this remote settlement, he produced some of the finest work of his career.

The general designs for the Logan and Manti temples were probably worked out in Salt Lake City under the supervision of Brigham Young and in cooperation with Truman Angell. As originally conceived, the new temples were to be similar in appearance, each of them to have towers at both ends with turrets at the corners to accommodate staircases. Both were to be constructed of local stone in a castellated style similar to the temple at St. George. Detailed plans for the upper portions of the towers and the interiors of the building may have been left to complete at a later time.[26]

While the general form of the Manti Temple was probably worked out cooperatively with Angell and others, there were refinements and special features in the design at Manti that appear to be the work of only Folsom himself. The steeply sloping Manti site was much more difficult than the flat hilltop chosen in Logan. Even after excavation, the difference in grade between the front and back of the building was more than two stories. Folsom solved this problem by terracing the site with a tall stone retaining wall. The east façade of the building was designed like a two-story building, while the west façade appeared to be a full four stories high. Like those of the Salt Lake Temple, the towers at the ends of the building represented the two orders of the Mormon priesthood. Since the east end represented the Melchizedek or higher priesthood, it needed to be the taller of the two. Truman Angell, Jr., solved the problem in Logan simply by constructing a taller wooden cupola on the east end, while the stone portions of the two towers remained the same. Folsom adopted a more sophisticated and successful solution; he substituted larger square-sided towers for the octagonal turrets at the east end and raised the stonework of the central tower. The windows on the towers were also designed with greater simplicity at Manti than at Logan, and the light-colored stone gave the building a more refined surface, although a somewhat less vigorous and textured one.

[26] That the plans of the temples were to be worked out under the direction of Brigham Young is shown in a note to that effect on a drawing of the basement floor of the Manti Temple signed by William Folsom but not dated. See Manti Temple File, LDS Archives. That the Manti Temple was to follow the lead of the Logan Temple is demonstrated in a letter from Folsom to John Taylor, May 24, 1878, Taylor Correspondence, LDS Archives. The drawing of the Manti Temple on the ceiling of the Assembly Hall in Salt Lake City shows towers different in design from those finally constructed. Since the painting predates the completion of the Manti Temple, it is likely that the tower designs were finalized or changed during construction of the building.

Sealing Room, Manti Temple, shows beautiful detailing of interior.
Photograph courtesy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Aside from the modifications resulting from the site of the building, the most original elements in the exterior design of the Manti Temple were the upper portions of the towers. While the walls were designed with buttresses and crenelations like a medieval fortress, the towers were designed in French Second Empire style, with mansard roofs and dormer windows similar to those on the Gardo House. Despite this difference of style, the shape and proportions of these elements were related to the rest of the building in a remarkably harmonious manner. In fact, the relationship of the towers to the body of the temple was more satisfying at Manti than at either Logan or St. George. In choosing this new style for the towers, Folsom broke completely with traditional American religious architecture by rejecting both spire and cupola and choosing instead a form that belonged to the residential and civic architecture of the time. Indeed, the completed building looked more like a great mansion than a conventional church or cathedral.[27]

[27] Laurel Brana Blank Andrew, "The Nineteenth-Century Temple Architecture of the Latter-day Saints" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 1973), 257.

While working on the Manti Temple, Folsom also directed other projects that were to be among his most lasting contributions. In 1878, after lightning struck the tower of the St. George Temple splitting the wooden cupola in half, Folsom designed the new cupola under the supervision of Truman O. Angell, the original architect of the building.[28] Folsom's design was considerably larger than the original and much richer and more refined in detail.

In 1880 Folsom constructed a new house in Salt Lake City for his family who had remained there. The home was a large symmetrical structure with a mansard roof. Inside, the house had a large central hall and identical apartments on either side for each of the two wives.[29]

While Folsom was living at Manti, local church leaders requested that he prepare designs for two tabernacles to be built in the area. The one in Moroni was the more modest of the two, a simple rectangular structure with a tower over the front entrance. The larger Manti Tabernacle, built of the same oölite stone as the temple, had a more elaborate design that included an interior gallery. The exterior with a tower in the center of the façade and pinnacles at the corners was a typical arrangement for contemporary Protestant and Catholic churches. While any direct influence is a matter of speculation, the tabernacle bears a particularly strong resemblance to a design for a church by Samuel Sloan published in one of the most widely distributed builders' handbooks of the time.[30] The Manti building differs from this drawing principally in the simpler stone details and the tower. Combining a variety of geometric shapes, the spire was one of the most skillful pieces of Victorian design in the region.

In 1882 Folsom was chosen as architect for another important building, the Provo Tabernacle. The local church leaders had decided to construct a building of approximately the same dimensions as the newly completed Assembly Hall in Salt Lake City, a creation of Folsom's former associate, Obed Taylor. Some Provo leaders also offered another sugges-

[28] Truman O. Angell, Sr., to John Taylor, November 27, 1880, Taylor Correspondence. Angell wrote, "When Bro. Folsom was here to make a miniature drawing for topping out the St. George Temple tower, I stood by and counseled him until it suited my eye." The specifications for the new cupola prepared by Folsom are preserved at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

[29] Moss, *History of William Harrison Folsom,* 60. Although the house was designed to accommodate both of Folsom's families, only one of them actually lived there. Many of Folsom's plans were stored in the cupola of the house. When a small fire started in the cupola, the fire department insisted on burning all of the papers and rags in the room as a fire hazard, including the plans of the Salt Lake Tabernacle and other buildings.

[30] Samuel Sloan, *The Model Architect* (Philadelphia, 1852 and 1860), 77.

The interior of the Provo Tabernacle displays craftsmanship in the woodwork and an elaborate design mixing Victorian and Greek Revival elements. Photograph by Paul L. Anderson.

tion, that the building be designed to resemble an English Presbyterian meetinghouse such as they had known before coming to America.[31] Folsom's design does not appear to have been particularly English, although the new Presbyterian church in Salt Lake City may have influenced its design slightly, the corner towers at Provo resembling the large tower of the new church. Another possible source for some design elements was the Catholic Basilica of Saint Louis that Folsom knew from his visit to New Orleans in 1849. The resemblance of the towers at the corners and the center of the façade of Saint Louis to those at Provo was quite striking, although the plan for the Provo building had more in common with the new LDS Assembly Hall. Gothic Revival elements appeared in the pointed windows and steep roofs, while the interior of the tabernacle was in the tradition of New England architecture more like the St. George Tabernacle—a rectangular space with a gallery and flat ceiling.

[31] Workers of the Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration for the State of Utah, *Provo, Pioneer Mormon City* (Portland, Ore., 1942), 152.

The woodwork of the rostrum was a truly remarkable piece of craftsmanship and design, mixing a variety of Victorian and Greek Revival elements in an elaborate composition of curved, horizontal, vertical, and diagonal lines. Although somewhat lacking in unity between interior and exterior, the tabernacle demonstrated both the originality of Folsom's compositional skills and the breadth of his eclecticism.

Other buildings also absorbed some of Folsom's attention during the 1880s. He worked on plans for a theatre in Provo and meetinghouses in Panguitch and Mona. In addition, he consulted on the design of the Salt Lake Temple. Despite these many projects, however, the focus of his attention remained with the completion of the Manti Temple.

Work at Manti was complicated by a variety of problems. The remoteness of the site made construction difficult in many ways, since the town was not connected with Salt Lake by either rail or telegraph lines. Folsom's letters to the church leaders show concern with his difficulties in raising money from the local population, while the responses from Salt Lake reflected the uncertain financial situation there as well.

Personal problems also plagued Folsom. A polygamist, he had to take precautions to avoid arrest by federal marshals. His home included a secret hiding place in the back of a closet. Once he had to flee from the county disguised as a prospector in order to avoid capture. The extent to which precautions were necessary in this regard was illustrated by a note from President John Taylor to Folsom regarding a meeting of the church architects in Salt Lake City:

> The nights are so very bright that a meeting cannot be held of the architects perhaps for a few days. When a suitable time arrives which will be in a few days hence, we will advise you, or if there should be a cloudy day. In the meantime we hope you can wait without inconvenience.[32]

The designs for the interiors of the major rooms of the Manti Temple were underway in 1886. As they were completed, these designs were sent to the church leaders for their approval. Despite both the difficulty in obtaining local funds and the constant recommendations of church leaders to minimize expenses, the interiors were completed in remarkably beautiful form, more elaborate than those at St. George or Logan. The fertility of Folsom's imagination is evident in the great variety of decorations, even the door and window frames varying in design from room to room. A much-admired circular stair was constructed in one of

[32] John Taylor to W.H. Folsom, May 13, 1886, John Taylor Letter Books, part 12, p. 97, LDS Archives.

The Terrestrial Room of the Manti Temple is a masterpiece of interior design with its Corinthian columns, arches, and other rich details. Photograph courtesy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

the turrets, an impressive example of carpentry. Perhaps the most spectacular space in the temple was the Terrestrial Room. Embellished with fluted Corinthian columns, arches, ceiling medallions, pendants, and a balustrade reminiscent of the Gardo House, it was certainly one of the most remarkable examples of pioneer craftsmanship and design.

Folsom suffered from asthma from time to time, and during his years in Manti his health declined. However, he was able to continue his supervision of the building to its completion in 1888. In the temple dedication, which included both a dedicatory prayer by Lorenzo Snow of great length and thoroughness and various spiritual manifestations, William Folsom was permitted a few words. The *Deseret News* reported:

> Elder W. H. Folsom felt that words were inadequate to express his joy at being present at the dedication of the Temple, a pleasure he did not expect, a few years since, to live to enjoy. . . . Felt to praise and bless and thank the men who had labored upon the temple. Knew that the Temple had been accepted of the Lord and that His Spirit was present.[33]

The completion of the Manti Temple had been the crowning achievement of Folsom's career, and perhaps the crowning achievement of nineteenth-century Mormon architecture. Inside and outside, it was an expression of Folsom's personal artistic skill and religious dedication.

Folsom returned to Salt Lake City following the completion of the temple. Two years later, at the age of seventy-five, he was arrested for bigamy and fined by the court. An old man in failing health, he sold his house in Manti to pay the fine. In the years that followed, he participated

[33] "The Dedication," *Deseret News*, May 30, 1888, p. 311.

The circular stairway in a tower of the Manti Temple shows the achievement of highly skilled carpenters. Photograph courtesy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

in a business venture with his sons and served for a time as a building inspector for the city. He also worked in the Endowment House, served as a home missionary, and became a familiar speaker in church meetings and firesides. In 1900, at the age of eighty-five, he was ordained a patriarch, although his health prohibited him from actively officiating in this position. The same year, at a birthday celebration in his honor, Folsom sermonized his descendants and friends, encouraging them to be faithful to the church and expressing his own lifelong dedication to craftsmanship and perfection in his work despite the criticism of others. He also allowed that he did not expect to see another birthday.[34] As he predicted, Folsom quietly died at home the following year, only six days short of his eighty-sixth birthday. The *Deseret News* eulogized him in an editorial:

> In the demise of Patriarch W. H. Folsom, Utah loses one of her old-time and most worthy citizens. He was identified with many of the finest structures in the State as their architect and builder, and was respected by all classes of the community. . . . His excellent qualities of mind and heart endeared him to a host of friends, and his material works stand as monuments to his skill and accuracy in both design and execution.[35]

William Harrison Folsom's legacy to the people of Utah and the LDS church was generous. His numerous descendants have included a number of architects, some of whom are still in practice today. Although his name has not become familiar to most students of Mormon history, his work has not been forgotten. All of his remaining major buildings are listed on either the State Register or the National Register of Historic Places, and the Manti Temple has become one of the landmarks of the West.[36] Even today, anyone who visits Manti, seeing the temple miles before reaching the town, watching the building grow larger and more impressive as it is approached, distinguishing the harmonious proportions and fine details, and finally entering into the spirit of dedication and artistic sensitivity that fills the rooms of the strutcure, will come away convinced that Folsom's contribution to Utah's heritage is memorable and precious indeed.

[34] Moss, *History of William Harrison Folsom,* 68.

[35] "Patriarch W.H. Folsom," *Deseret Semi-Weekly News,* March 25, 1901, p.4.

[36] The Manti Tabernacle is on the Utah State Register of Historic Sites; and the Provo Tabernacle, the Devereaux House, the Salt Lake Tabernacle, the Salt Lake City Hall, the ZCMI Cast-Iron Front, and the Manti Temple are on the National Register of Historic Places.

Cut-stone schoolhouse in Spring City. Deseret News *photograph by J. M. Heslop, gift of Bob Mitchell.*

Spring City: A Look at a Nineteenth-Century Mormon Village

BY CINDY RICE

CERTAINLY ONE OF THE most notable and at the same time visible effects of Brigham Young's expansive colonization scheme is the distinct flavor of settlement that characterizes Mormon country. The nucleated village pattern, the broad streets oriented to the cardinal points, and the house-types have all served, along with other features, to provide travelers with a distinctive visual experience that can be likened only in the broadest

terms to other areas of the United States.[1] At first glance the landscape of Spring City appears to be the prototype of a Mormon village; many features do indeed fit neatly into such a classification. Additionally, Spring City's location imparts a feeling of insularity from the outside world. Located almost precisely in the geographic center of the state, the town lies at the foot of the Wasatch Plateau in the Sanpete valley; south and slightly east of the city is Horseshoe Mountain, a landmark to Spring City residents and others from the northern part of the county. Upon close examination one finds mirrored in the Spring City of today elements that reflect a history of more than storybook proportions.

I

Mormon attempts to settle the Spring City area began early. In the fall of 1851 Brigham Young advised James Allred to select a place for a settlement where he could locate with his numerous posterity and preside over them.[2] On March 22, 1852, James Allred, a native of Tennessee, examined the country lying along Canal Creek and four days later returned with his sons and others to begin settling in what was to become the southwest part of Spring City. Soon other settlers, primarily members of the Allred family, arrived, and log and adobe dwellings were erected. About twelve families spent the winter of 1852 in the Allred settlement.

In July 1853 the Walker War erupted. The settlement on Pleasant Creek, later called Mount Pleasant, was raided in mid-July, and residents fled to the Allred settlement. Settlers from both towns cooperated in building a fort by moving their cabins together and filling the openings between with rock walls. The enclosure was just large enough to contain all the dwellings, with the meetinghouse in the center. The fort was completed on July 28, 1853, and stood on the block where the chapel is now located.[3] Despite this protective measure, the settlers suffered a considerable loss of stock and horses, and the people moved to the greater safety of Manti.

Ms. Rice, a geographer now living in New York, compiled a survey of historic buildings in Spring City for the Society's Preservation Office. The author wishes to acknowledge the support provided by Clifford and Ruth McKinney of Spring City.

[1] Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," *Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers,* 2 (1970), 59–61.

[2] Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Independence, Mo., 1945), 251. Allred, a Tennessean, moved to Missouri in 1830 and joined the LDS church in 1832. See W.H. Lever, *History of Sanpete and Emery Counties* (Ogden, 1898), 480.

[3] Andrew Jenson, "Manuscript History and Historical Report, 1853–1938, Spring City Ward, Sanpete North Stake," Archives Division, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; "Hans Jorgen Hansen" in Hans Jorgen Hansen Family History in possession of Mrs. Edith Schofield, Spring City.

An attempt was made to resettle Spring City in the fall of 1853. Most of the original settlers returned, augmented by a large group of Danish converts. James Allred and Reuben W. Allred learned of the arrival of the Danish immigrants while attending the LDS General Conference in Salt Lake City. Through their influence the Danes were sent to the Allred settlement. Upon returning, the colonizers enlarged the fort to accommodate the new arrivals. However, in December 1853 the settlement was vacated once again due to Indian hostilities, and soon after, the fort was burned by the Indians.

The colony was not resettled until 1859 when William Black received a letter from Brigham Young suggesting that he locate a settlement on Canal Creek. On July 28, 1859, Black, Joseph T. Ellis, and others reestablished the settlement. Albert Petty, the county surveyor, accompanied this first group and immediately began to survey a townsite and 640 acres of farmland adjoining it. Other settlers soon arrived, including many from the Allred family. Farmland that had been surveyed into ten- and five-acre lots was distributed among the settlers, with no more than fifteen acres going to any family head. Joseph T. Ellis built the first home in the settlement on the block southwest of the church. Other houses followed, some fort style and some on the city lots. No farming was done in 1859, but about a dozen families spent the winter there.[4]

Only after the threat of Indian attacks had ceased with the end of the Black Hawk War in late 1869 did building really begin to get underway. In a more peaceful atmosphere the townspeople turned to agriculture, stock-raising, wool growing, lumbering, and other rural pursuits. In 1870 the town was incorporated as Spring City, having undergone a number of name changes beginning with the Allred settlement then Little Denmark, Springtown, and finally, Spring City.[5]

The Danish immigrants who had returned to Spring City when it was resettled in 1859 attracted other Danes until a sizeable colony was formed. The Danes and other Scandinavians settled primarily in the northern part of town.[6] This segregation was not due solely to language and cultural differences but also to the negative way in which the Danes

[4] Jenson, "Manuscript History."

[5] *Ibid.* Settlers also quarried oölite in the hills west of town for shipment to larger towns, planted mulberry trees for a fledgling silk industry, and profited by selling produce to the Nevada mining camps. See Lever, *History of Sanpete,* 473, and "Hans Jorgen Hansen," p. 10.

[6] Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian immigrants were all represented in Spring City; however, the Danes substantially outnumbered the other Scandinavian groups. Within the context of this study the cohesive Scandinavian population will be referred to alternately as the Danish or Scandinavian community.

were regarded by the other settlers. A number of Danes reacted by abandoning Mormonism, while those who remained within the church fold organized and built their own meetinghouse. This one-room adobe building served the Danish community until well into the twentieth century. A single service, conducted in Danish, was held in the Danish meetinghouse on Sunday under the leadership of a president. However, the Danes attended the regular ward chapel for sacrament meeting.[7]

The northern part of town came to be known as Little Denmark. Several features distinguished this area of the city from its southern counterpart. Many Danes built homes reminiscent of those in their native land: long and low in appearance with doors and windows asymmetrically arranged in the façade. These dwellings were a marked contrast to the one-and-one-half-story Mormon-style homes ubiquitous in the southern part of town. Barns also varied in construction. The non-Scandinavian settlers generally laid logs horizontally, notching each end to form the four walls. Scandinavians usually built a frame and attached planks vertically.[8]

The first generation Danish immigrants also differed from the other settlers in that they almost all had a trade. Most Danes were not involved in livestock operations but had only a cow, a few chickens, pigs, and a garden. They were not sheepmen or farmers on much more than a subsistence level. Instead, the Danes were blacksmiths, bakers, wheelwrights, coopers, shoemakers, carpenters, masons, and tinkers. These craftsmen made a valuable contribution to the building of the communty. This is especially apparent in the rock work found primarily in the southern part of town. Three stonemasons, Jens J. Sorensen, John Peter Carlson, and John Bohlin, were the principal craftsmen. All three helped with the construction of the ward chapel as well as the Manti Temple. Many of the rock homes built in Spring City can also be attributed to their efforts.[9]

Spring City's population continued to grow, reaching a high of 1,235 persons in 1900. Local businesses thrived, and in the early 1900s Spring City supported three general merchandise stores, two meat markets, a millinery shop, a watch repair shop, a drugstore, several blacksmith shops,

[7] Interviews with James T. Ellis, April 9, 1974; Floyd and LaVee Draper, April 23, 1974; Rudolph Hope, February 26, 1974; Rose R. Schofield, February 18, 1974; Bergetta L. Jensen, April 16, 1974. All interviews were conducted in Spring City.

[8] Interview with Vero Aiken, February 20, 1974, and Hope interview.

[9] Hope interview and interviews with Gordon Sorensen, April 26, 1974; John R. Baxter, Jr., April 3, 1974; Merton Christensen, February 28, 1974.

a livery stable, a creamery, and a combination saloon, pool hall, and confectionery. Several hotels also operated intermittently until the 1940s.[10]

Shortly after 1900 Spring City began to suffer the plight of many rural communities, experiencing an outmigration and subsequent loss of population. The outmigration accelerated in the 1930s and continued until about 1960 when the population stabilized at just over four hundred fifty persons.[11] Renewed growth in traditional areas seems unlikely in the near future. The lack of irrigation water continues as a primary factor retarding the expansion of agriculture, and a gradual cut in grazing permits for cattle and sheep serves to make expansion of this endeavor unfeasible.

II

How then is Spring City's history reflected in the town as it appears today? What clues remain concerning the personalities who fashioned this community? What structures, if any, merit preservation?

The LDS meetinghouse, the most visually prominent of the town's structures, was built of native oölite limestone quarried in the hills just west of Spring City. This building is truly one of the masterpieces of Mormon architecture. Some say construction of the chapel began in 1902; however, others claim the building, designed by J.R. Watkins, was begun in the 1880s. The Scandinavian stonemasons Bohlin, Carlson, Sorensen, and Larsen were those primarily responsible for the masonry.[12] The church was dedicated March 15, 1914, by Anthon H. Lund, counselor to Joseph F. Smith.

The building follows a Gothic theme, both inside and out. All of the major windows are Gothic arched and recessed from the main face, giving a feeling of depth. The chapel is T-shaped with a square entrance tower topped by an octagonal spire. The interior consists of an auditorium with pulpit at the west. To the rear of the pulpit, hand-grained sliding doors open into the annex that was not envisioned in the original plans but added before the structure's completion. From the original exposed flooring to the vaulted and beamed ceiling, the interior is replete with beautifully detailed woodworking. The pulpit and the handmade rostrum chairs for the ward leadership are skillfully carved. The pew ends are decoratively milled as is the sacrament table. A most impressive feature

[10] U.S., National Archives, Census Schedules for the years 1860–1970, and interview with James T. and Ada R. Ellis, February 27, 1974.

[11] U.S., Census Schedules.

[12] Athene Osborne, "Spring City Ward History," manuscript in her possession, Spring City; Baxter interview and interview with Lee Allred, February 21, 1974.

A masterpiece of Mormon architecture, the Spring City meetinghouse was built by skilled masons of locally available oölite limestone. Deseret News *photograph by J. M. Heslop, gift of Bob Mitchell.*

is the curving horseshoe gallery with its sloping floor and access stairways from the tower. The wainscoting, sloping chapel floor, and choir flanking the sacrament table combine to make this a truly beautiful and sensitive place of worship. The significance of this chapel transcends the limits of Spring City. The architectural design and the care lavished in its construction give the church a spirit of its own.[13]

Another church-related building appears today as a small yellow frame home, all that remains of the once-flourishing Methodist church and school. The home now standing served as living quarters for a

[13] Spring City Mormons continue to take pride in their chapel. A new recreation hall to the north was designed to conform to the Gothic motif, adding greatly to its cost.

City hall of cut limestone and turn-of-the-century school of locally made brick demonstrate the variety of architecture found in Spring City. Deseret News *photographs by J. M. Heslop, gifts of Bob Mitchell.*

teacher, and the church stood directly east of it. Grades one through eight were taught in the one large room of the church building by a single teacher. The students came almost entirely from the Danish community. On Sundays a preacher from Mount Pleasant traveled to Spring City to conduct services. The original church bell hangs today in the old public school. In 1900 town officials paid the Methodist teacher, Miss Willingham, seventy-five cents per month to ring the bell at 8:30 P.M. signaling curfew.[14]

A number of other schools were constructed to educate the town's young people. Until the public school was completed in 1900 classes were not consolidated in a single structure but were scattered throughout town. One such schoolhouse remains substantially unchanged. This cut-stone building has been the subject of many rumors due to the Mormon and/or Masonic symbols of the compass, square, and beehive carved in stone and set in the gable. Some refer to the structure as the Endowment House; however, there seems to be little truth in the assertion that LDS marriages were performed there. The *Deseret News* in 1868 noted that school trustees were making arrangements for getting lime and stone for the construction of two new schoolhouses. Records of the county assessor's office date the building at 1870—which corresponds to the date carved in stone on the building itself—and refer to the structure as an old school-

[14] Interviews with Ogla T. Black, February 20, 1974; Faun and Warner Christensen, March 7, 1974; Jensen interview; and Spring City, City Council Minutes, January 2, 1900, City Hall, Spring City.

house. On a map depicting the townsite in early years, this building is identified as the First West Schoolhouse. That the building was used as a school is certain, as some of Spring City's older residents attended classes there themselves. In early days it was called the John Frank Allred Schoolhouse after a long-time instructor who began teaching in Spring City in 1878. The structure now stands vacant, known to townspeople as the Old Rock Schoolhouse.[15]

The city hall also served as a school prior to 1900. A simple one-story rectangle with a steeply pitched gabled roof and bell cot, the building was constructed in 1893 of locally quarried limestone. Scandinavian stonemasons were once again responsible for the fabrication of the exterior walls; the carpenters were William Downard and Marinus Mortensen.[16] The city hall was rented by school trustees for $7.50 per month. In addition to serving as a school and meeting place for the city council, the building was used by the Spring City Brass Band and the Royal Blue Band. Here, too, matters relating to the dispensation and regulation of water were decided. After his successful campaign for reelection as mayor, the Honorable Ole Peterson passed out on the city hall's benches after too much celebrating. Town wags took advantage of his honor's indisposition to tie the rope of the fire bell around his leg so that each time he rolled over the bell rang, reminding the entire town of his election.[17]

The public school, completed in 1899, is a basically rectangular structure consisting of two-and-one-half stories. The hipped roof is topped with a central bell cot and four large corbeled chimneys. Stepped gables at the sides offset the stepped parapet across the front. The building was constructed primarily of a light brick with darker brick trim. The bricks were locally made in the "second holler" west of town on the road to Chester. The architect was once again J.R. Watkins from Provo. Many local residents were hired by the contractors, Grace Brothers of Nephi. One former Spring City resident remembers as a boy riding the derrick horse used to raise the bricks. Each of the eight grades had a classroom complete with its own pot-bellied stove. Adding to its significance, the school marked the "Mason-Dixon" line dividing the north (Danish) of town from the south (non-Scandinavian). This line usually

[15] *Deseret News,* February 10, 1868; Jenson, "Manuscript History"; interview with John R. Baxter, Jr., March 1, 1974; photograph in the possession of Mrs. Winona J. Allred, Spring City; Lever, *History of Sanpete,* 490; interview with Winona J. Allred, March 12, 1974.

[16] John R. Baxter, Jr., to Utah Heritage Foundation, March 20, 1971, Utah Heritage Foundation files, Salt Lake City.

[17] Interview with Henry S. Schofield, March 7, 1974.

went unnoticed unless a fight broke out. Some have also claimed that the treatment students received at the school often depended on whether the teacher was a "northwarder" or "southwarder." [18]

III

In addition to the churches and public buildings, a wide variety of homes, representing styles and materials dating from the time of the first permanent settlement, can be found in Spring City. Log and adobe dwellings as well as dugouts were constructed first. A number of simple unsheathed log homes still stand. One of the most picturesque is a small one-room cabin with loft for sleeping. This log structure is surrounded by a "Mormon fence," [19] several large cottonwood trees, and the remains of an old rock granary. Two other cabins lie to the west, one of which is dated at 1854.[20] Other log dwellings show additions of frame or log made in response to an increase in family size or prosperity. An unusual log home still in use is a one-room cabin (1874) with a squared log addition (1899) arranged in double-pen fashion.

Adobe dwellings, both sheathed and unsheathed, are represented in Spring City. Among the unsheathed adobe homes are the old Baxter and Thompsen residences. The adobe section of the small one-story Baxter home is dated at 1878 with a concrete block addition made to the rear in 1940. John R. Baxter, Sr., emigrated from Scotland in 1868 and settled in Spring City the following year. He sent for his parents in 1877 and built them this home.[21]

Andrew "Fishman" Thompsen was a Danish immigrant who came to Spring City as a Mormon convert. His one-story home (1894), with central chimney and gabled roof, exhibits some Scandinavian building traits. Thompsen himself made the "dobies" for this home and others in a large adobe yard that he operated just north of town. Thompsen was an active church member until ill-feeling between the Danes and non-Scandinavians resulted in his abandonment of Mormonism. He then became a devout Seventh Day Adventist, setting aside Sundays exclusively for scripture reading. "Fishman" Thompsen earned his nick-

[18] Interview with H.S. Schofield, April 18, 1974; Baxter interview, April 3, 1974; interview with Clive Barney, February 25, 1974; interview with Charles Peterson, February 26, 1974; Hope interview; interview with Rastus Christensen, February 27, 1974.

[19] Francaviglia, "Mormon Landscape," 59.

[20] Unless otherwise noted, construction dates were obtained from the Sanpete County Assessors's Office, Sanpete County Courthouse, Manti.

[21] Interview with Jean Baxter Dye, February 25, 1974; Baxter interview, April 3, 1974; and Lever, *History of Sanpete,* 485.

name by making periodic fishing trips to Utah Lake and elsewhere and then pulling his catch up and down the streets on a block of ice, selling the fish to townspeople.[22]

Sheathed adobe dwellings include the Olsen-Nielsen-Schofield home, a stucco-over-adobe Mormon-style house with decorated gables built by Andrew Olsen. Outbuildings include a somewhat dilapidated rock stable built by Hans Nielsen, a later occupant. Joe Schofield, who bought the home from Nielsen, ran a livery stable and shuttled mail and passengers between town and the Denver and Rio Grande depot located about a mile to the west. In addition to these responsibilities he drove the school wagon to Mount Pleasant.[23]

The Scandinavian community left an imprint that, while visible, is not readily discernible. The acculturation of this immigrant group eliminated most of the readily identifiable landscape elements distinguishing these Danish settlers. Upon arriving in Spring City many Danes built homes and outbuildings reminiscent of those in the old country. Homes were long and low in appearance with doors and windows asymmetrically arranged in the façade. Chimneys were often built in the center in contrast to the gable-end chimneys characteristic of the Mormon-style home. Outbuildings were constructed in close proximity to the home or were sometimes attached. Thatching was a common roofing material. Rock appeared more typically in Scandinavian outbuildings and is symbolic of the especially fine treatment Danes lavished on their livestock. Woven willow fences were erected but were not widespread.[24]

The best remaining example of a Scandinavian-style dwelling in Spring City is the Erick Sandstrom home. This stucco-over-abode dwelling exhibits the long, low appearance, asymmetrical arrangement of door and windows, and the central chimney so characteristic of Scandinavian building styles. Sandstrom was a Swedish immigrant who had two wives, Margaret and Johannah. He was particularly careful to treat each of his wives in the same manner. An identical dwelling was located directly west of the above structure for the second wife. The twelve Sandstrom children all attended the Methodist school.[25]

While the Hans Jorgen Hansen home has been remodeled, the Scandinavian influence remains apparent. A one-and-one-half-story cut-

[22] Olga T. Black, manuscript in her possession, Spring City; Hope, Ellis, and R. Schofield interviews.

[23] Interview with Hugh Davis, April 4, 1974.

[24] Hope interview and photographs in the possession of Rose R. Schofield, Spring City; Aiken and Black interviews.

[25] Hope interview.

Top: barn built by Niels Peter "Baker" Jensen and Charles Kofford's granary that was converted into a small home. Utah State Historical Society collections. Bottom: Peter Monsen's home has a ballroom on the second floor. Deseret News *photograph by J. M. Heslop, gift of Bob Mitchell.*

stone dwelling dating from 1874, the home has been stuccoed. Now missing are a chimney, the rock barn, and the picket fence that once surrounded the lot. Hans Jorgen Hansen and his wife, Ane Kirstene, came to Spring City from Denmark in 1859. Their first shelter was a dugout that was replaced by a log cabin and, later, the rock home. Hansen had trained as a gardener in the royal gardens of the king of Denmark and was known throughout town for his especially fine garden and orchard.[26]

The Monsen and Christofferson homes also exhibit some Scandinavian building traits. The Monsen home was constructed by Peter Mon-

[26] "Hans Jorgen Hansen," p. 1, and "Carl Hansen," p. 1, in Hansen Family History.

sen, a Swedish convert, for his only child, Petrea. This one-and-one-half-story cut-stone home has a gabled roof with a cross-gable above the main entrance. Construction on the home began in 1871 and was finally completed in 1883. It exhibits the long, low Scandinavian appearance and central chimneys; however, it is very symmetrical. The rock barn built by Danish immigrant Niels Peter "Baker" Jensen is perhaps the best remaining example of a rock outbuilding built by and for a Scandinavian.[27] Rock granaries are found throughout town.

Mormon-style homes reflect the history of the LDS church and the strong Greek Revival influence that was especially important in the Western Reserve settlements of Ohio and New York. These homes have been tagged with any number of titles ranging from Nauvoo-style to I-style to Mormon central hall. Mormon-style dwellings are substantial, one-and-one-half-story buildings with symmetrical façades and gable-end chimneys. Within this basic plan there was much room for variation, as additions were made to the rear in a wide variety of arrangements. The Mormon-style home with its austere lines, symmetry, and primarily brick or rock construction imparts a feeling of permanence and purpose but not frivolity. The Sanpete valley as a whole continues to be a stronghold for this type of home, with Spring City a bastion for the Mormon building style. Some observers claim that close to half the existing dwellings are of this type.[28]

The Orson Hyde home remains a fine example of a Mormon-style dwelling. This two-and-one-half-story building was constructed sometime after April 1863 when Elder Lyman O. Littlefield recorded a visit by Brigham Young to Hyde's hewn-log home in Spring City. This cut-stone residence was constructed over a spring, presumably in case of Indian attacks, and also boasts a built-in kitchen wall safe. Hyde's Spring City home is strongly reminiscent of his wooden residence in Nauvoo which is replete with Greek Revival elements.[29]

Hyde was one of the original Twelve Apostles of the LDS church and held numerous positions of importance before being sent to oversee the founding of settlements in Sanpete and Sevier counties in 1858. Elder

[27] Interviews with Bergetta L. Jensen, February 19, 1974, and April 16, 1974; H.S. Schofield interview, March 13, 1974.

[28] Richard V. Francaviglia, "Mormon Central Hall Houses in the American West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 61 (March 1971), 65–67.

[29] *Deseret News,* May 6, 1863; David Winburn, "The Early Homes of Utah: A Study of Techniques and Materials" (Bachelor's thesis, University of Utah, 1952); Robert M. Lillibridge, "Architectural Currents on the Mississippi River Frontier: Nauvoo, Illinois," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* (October 1960), 113.

Hyde first settled in Manti but later moved to Spring City where he resided with his six wives. The large rock home served as his official residence and housed Mary Ann Price Hyde and family. Other wives lived in more modest dwellings. In early days the southern part of town was purportedly referred to as the Hyde Bound Section due to the control exercised by Elder Hyde. Later this area was known to "northwarders" as Allred Bound or Squaw Town. Hyde lived in Spring City until his death in 1878 and is buried in the Spring City cemetery.[30]

Isaac Edgar Allred's residence, a one-and-one-half-story cut-stone dwelling, was constructed by Jens "Rock" Sorensen in 1875 and is a T-shaped structure. Sorensen was hired to build the home and did so without the aid of scaffolding. He climbed a ladder with a rock on his shoulder and then put the dressed stone in place. Isaac Edgar Allred owned a drugstore and was also a self-taught dentist. According to local folklore if you didn't care how much it hurt you could go to Allred to have a tooth pulled. His drugstore included a soda fountain, with this notice posted above the counter: "We have trusted 'til we're busted and we can't trust anymore. If you want to keep up business just pay up what you owe." [31]

The Crisp-Allred home was constructed in 1884 for James W. Crisp, a farmer and stockman. The home includes two stories with four rooms downstairs and seven rooms above. The front section was built first of cut-stone, followed by a sand-rolled brick addition. The entire structure has been stuccoed. Crisp settled in Spring City in 1867, having come to Utah from England the previous year. Initially Crisp worked at a variety of jobs, including freighting produce to the mining camps in Nevada. He met a tragic death in the early 1900s when he sought shelter during a rainstorm under a piece of farm machinery that rolled over him. Shortly thereafter the home was acquired by Orson and Lorena Sorensen Allred. They made the addition to the rear and kept the Allred Hotel for more than twenty-five years, catering to salesmen, teachers, theatrical groups, and politicians.[32]

James A. Allred, a man of prominence in Spring City, served as the town's first mayor and as bishop from 1882 until his death in 1904. His

[30] Hunter, *Brigham Young*, 57; Daughters of Utah Pioneers, *These . . . Our Fathers* (Springville, 1947), 63; Osborne, Spring City Ward History; Hope and R. Schofield interviews and interview with H.S. Schofield, March 8, 1974.

[31] Interview with Lorna Barney Jensen and Clive Barney, February 25, 1974; Black manuscript; H.S. Schofield interview, March 13, 1974.

[32] Lever, *History of Sanpete*, 492; interview with George Crisp, April 23, 1974; interview with LaVon A. Allred, April 4, 1974.

Orson Hyde's stone home (top), built over a spring, dates from the 1860s. The later Simon T. Beck home (bottom) was built for the Sanpete sheepman by Isaac A. Behunin in 1883. Utah State Historical Society collections.

home reflects his community stature, standing two stories high with an entrance surrounded by transom and sidelights. The exterior clapboard wall surface was made from redwood shipped by train to Nephi and then by wagon to Spring City. This residence was patterned after those in Kentucky, the home state of Allred's first wife, Elizabeth Parks. Elizabeth and a second wife, Maryann Pollard, lived in this home, while a third wife, Elizabeth A. Brough, lived one block to the east.[33]

A number of homes built at a later date show an increasing prosperity, access to a wider range of building materials, and/or the influence of Victorian styles. Jens "King" Pederson began his one-and-one-half-story pressed-brick home in the early 1900s. This dwelling contains a decorative leaded-glass window. However, the picket fence and original porches are missing. Pederson raised sheep and became quite a prosperous man. Accounts vary as to the origin of his nickname, "King." One source contends that because of his wealth Pederson was known as the "King" of Little Denmark.[34]

The Baxter house, little changed since its completion in 1903, stands today minus some porch railings, but still intact are the water storage tank located on the second floor and many of the original plumbing fixtures. This brick home was the second in town to boast indoor plumbing. Jens P. Carlson was hired to lay the rock foundation and the brick masonry and do the plastering. John R. Baxter, Sr., briefly discussed earlier, worked for some time at the old co-op store and then established his own general merchandise store in the largest of three rooms in his old adobe home located just behind the existing store building. Baxter later joined with Robert Blain in opening the store that now stands vacant, minus the hitching post and granary but little else. Town residents fondly remember that Baxter never sold the last of a particular item on his shelves, for then he would be out.[35]

The most elegant home in Spring City belonged to Judge Jacob Johnson. Exhibiting characteristic Mormon-style traits, the older section of the house was constructed between 1870 and 1872 of cut stone and lined with adobe, a common and efficient insulating material. In 1892 a large addition was made to the north, and the entire structure was stuccoed and scored to look like stone. The newer section contains two

[33] Lever, *History of Sanpete,* 479; interview with Winona J. Allred, March 12, 1974.

[34] Interviews with H.S. Schofield, April 13, 1974; R.R. Schofield, March 7, 1974; and R. Hope, March 11, 1974; interview with Celeste C. Harrison, April 4, 1974.

[35] Dye interview; Baxter interview, March 1, 1974; H.S. Schofield interview, March 13, 1974.

lovely fireplaces, a beautiful newel post and stairway, several leaded-glass windows, and hand-grained paneled doors. This was the first home in town to have indoor plumbing, utilizing water piped from a spring four blocks east of the home to a storage tank still found in the attic. If the water supply from this source ran low a pump west of the house connected a well to the storage tank.[36]

The small cut-stone building just north of the Johnson home served as the judge's court and office. Jacob Johnson came to Utah in 1854 from Denmark. In 1863 he went to California to study law and in 1872 came to Spring City where he opened a law office and acquired a colorful reputation. He held numerous public offices and was Seventh District judge, presiding over all of southeastern Utah before his election as a state representative.[37]

The Johnson rock barn and granary are also worthy of note. The barn contains stalls for six horses and ample room for storing hay as well as a wagon. Its large scale and finished rock construction make it unique

[36] Information given by Clifford and Ruth McKinney, on file at the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

[37] Lever, *History of Sanpete*, 496–97.

Spring City's most elegant residence was built by Judge Jacob Johnson for his second wife, Matilda. The home was built in several stages and carefully integrated into a pleasing whole. Photograph courtesy of Clifford McKinney.

to Spring City. The finished rock granary door still contains calculations figured for a variety of transactions.

The Jens P. Carlson home remains an excellent example of a stonemason's craftsmanship. The decision to build such a home resulted from Jake Johnson's addition. It seems that Johnson had hired a Salt Lake firm to design and build his new home. Once construction was underway Carlson was appalled at the quality of the workmanship, and he told Jake that he would show him how a stone house should be built. Carlson, a man of meager means, had little time to spend in constructing his own home. In early years he labored on the Manti Temple and later on the Spring City chapel and many of the town's rock buildings. For a time he worked in Salt Lake during the summer and on this home in the winter months. He quarried most of the rock himself. The stones were dressed with a chisel and rubbed together to achieve a smooth finish. Filings from the rocks were mixed with lime to form the one-eighth of an inch mortar used to bind the dressed limestone. In some places Carlson had to splice the stone; however, the joints can be detected only if one is told where to look. Interior walls are also of stone, further augmenting the feeling that this home was erected with great care. Carlson died before the structure's completion, and a carpenter was hired to roof the building. Like the Orson Hyde home, the Carlson residence is built over a spring.[38]

While the Freeman Allred and Marinus Mortensen homes do not fit into any particular classification, they do have some attributes worth noting. The Freeman Allred home is a one-story structure of cross-gable construction, built in 1912 of painted sand-rolled brick. The house itself possesses no unique characteristics, except that it is the only structure in Spring City that sits diagonally on its lot. As residents tell the story, Freeman Allred was a surveyor who claimed that Spring City was not laid out to the true compass points. To underscore his assertion, he positioned his home in such a fashion as to indicate the true cardinal points.[39]

Marinus Mortensen's home illustrates the existence of a concern that contributed greatly to the building of Spring City. The siding used on the Mortensen home was planed by Ole Peterson at his planing mill. The mill, which furnished a wide variety of building materials, was driven by an overshot water wheel and turned out siding, sheeting, and shingles as well as grinding wheat and oats for hog feed. A particular style of fence

[38] Discussion with Clifford F. McKinney, date unknown; interviews with Delone Carlson, March 13, 1974, and Erma N. Carlson, March 4, 1974.

[39] H.S. Schofield interview, March 13, 1974.

was also produced at Ole Peterson's mill and remains a relatively common sight. The Mortensen dwelling was contructed by Danish-born Marinus Mortensen, a farmer, undertaker, and carpenter.[40]

IV

The significance of Spring City lies in the abundance of buildings that exhibit styles predating World War I. Furthermore, these buildings are not juxtaposed to twentieth-century neon signs, large commercial establishments, tract homes, and small lots. Instead, Spring City reflects life in a nineteenth-century Mormon village with some interesting variations, nuances that can be traced to the initial settlement of Spring City by clannish groups.

Spring City was settled as a part of the planned colonization of the Great Basin by the Mormons. When this highly centralized leadership was extended to the local level, the city was planned much like all Mormon villages on a grid system oriented to the compass points. Streets were broad, lots covered a quarter block, water was transported to the fields in open ditches, and barns and other outbuildings were constructed on city lots.

The architectural styles found in Spring City are not unlike those in other parts of the area and the state. Sanpete County as a whole remains a stronghold for the Mormon central hall house built throughout the state into the early 1900s. Toward the close of the nineteenth century, Victorian styles began to appear among the wealthier members of the community. The architectural development of Spring City, when compared overall with the fabric of Utah's architectural evolution, is not unique. What is unique, however, is that so many of the original structures remain unchanged and that some Scandinavian building traditions are still evident in Spring City.

Utahns have in Spring City an opportunity to preserve more than just a few historic structures that relate fragments of local history. All of the ingredients needed to provide a stirring insight into rural life in a nineteenth-century Mormon village are evident and intact. The lack of any large-scale commercial establishments, a concentration of relatively unaffected nineteenth-century building styles, the large number of rock homes, the pace of present-day life, the character of the people, the setting, and the open space all contribute to the singularity of the Spring City experience—one well worth preserving.

[40] H.S. Schofield interview, March 7, 1974; interview with Elva M. Allred, April 10, 1974; and Lever, *History of Sanpete*, 501.

This small black L house is merely the joining of two stone cabins, and except for the single story, conforms to house type 6 in Austin Fife's "Stone Houses of Northern Utah." As one would expect, there are three chimneys here. Notice the plain boxed cornices and wooden lintels. Of those who have written of the buildings of Utah, such as Richard Francaviglia, Austin Fife, and Peter Goss, most have mentioned the frugality and Mormon utilitarianism that characterize the early structures. And the buildings of Beaver are no exception.

Stone Buildings of Beaver City

BY RICHARD C. POULSEN

LATE IN 1855 and during 1856, the colonization and settlement of the Beaver River valley was begun; this initial work was undertaken mainly by residents of Parowan who were called to this duty by LDS church leaders. Situated west of the Tushar range, about two hundred miles south of Salt Lake City, Beaver City was solidly established in the ensuing years mainly by hardy Scots and English. The county and the town were named Beaver by the early settlers because of the abundance of this furbearer in and along the Beaver River and other streams.

As other people have commented about other places in Utah,[1] Beaver City cannot be seen, let alone appreciated from the speed and glare of the interstate; and few, if any, of the city's stone houses can be seen at all from the freeway. After looking at other towns in the county, mostly mining and railroad boom towns—mere shantytowns despite their "modernization"—one is forcefully impressed with the solidity of Beaver City: the abundance of heavy stone and red-brick buildings many would call "old pioneer" and the clean, logical, symmetrical planning of the town itself. Beaver is, in fact, a stone oasis in a desert of wooden shanties.

Henry Glassie, one authority on material folk culture in the United States, has said: ". . . the telling of a tale and the building of a wagon are frequently repeated parallel culminations of culturally determined know-how. The wagon type would not have to be invented, nor the tale type composed, by the group whose traditions incorporate that form, but a tale told or a wagon built by a person who does not have that tale or wagon as part of his own tradition cannot be folk." [2] Glassie's statement should adequately explain why the folklorist would study the stone buildings of Beaver and not the architecture of the new Chevron station. Since the book from which this quote was taken devotes roughly half of its entirety to the study of houses and house types, one can substitute the word house or building for wagon in Glassie's paragraph and assert that folk architecture and building is as important and viable an act of the folk as the transmission of a tale—long or short. But possibly more important: the stone buildings of Beaver were and are part of the tradition of the folk, a specific group of people; and studying those traditions, here and now, could very well bring one closer to an understanding of the people that perpetrated them and, ultimately, closer to an understanding of ourselves.

Folk building traditions were, in Beaver, as in other parts of Utah, a marriage of folk culture directly transplanted from northern Europe and an earlier United States culture, also brought from Europe but trans-

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[1] See Austin E. Fife, "Stone Houses of Northern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* 40 (1972), 6–23. Richard V. Francaviglia, "Mormon Central-Hall Houses in the American West," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 61 (1971), 65–71. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of an Image in the American West," *Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers,* 2 (1970), 59–61. Paul Goeldner, "The Architecture of Equal Comforts: Polygamists in Utah," *Historic Preservation,* 24 (January–March, 1972), 14–17. Peter Goss, "Utah's Architectural Heritage: An Overview," *Utah Architect,* 52 (1973), 14–17. J.E. Spenser, "House Types of Southern Utah," *Geographical Review,* 35 (1945), 444–57. See also Jan Harold Brunvand, "A Survey of Mormon Housing Traditions in Utah," *Revue Roumaine D'Histoire De L'Art,* 11 (1974), 111–35.

[2] Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, 1968), 5.

mitted and grown in the eastern United States. According to Mrs. Kathleen S. Farnsworth, the masons and builders of Beaver came there from the Scottish counties of Fife and Clackmannan. But many of the stone buildings in Beaver were undoubtedly constructed by laymen, just as the log buildings were.

Henry Glassie classifies two house types in his "The Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin" as cabins because ". . . both are composed of a single construction unit and both are less than two stories high."[3] Many of the stone houses of Beaver, if one uses Glassie's criteria, can be classified as cabins.

Many Beaver residents say the pink stone or tufa that many of the stone houses are built of was quarried in a small side-canyon about five miles up Beaver Canyon, but no quarries are mentioned for the ubiquitous black volcanic rock, although it could have been quarried there too, since it is everywhere surrounding the pink stone. The river bed is full of it.

Most of the oldest stone dwellings in Beaver are composed of the black pumice; the tufa was evidently a later discovery. Interestingly, most of the pink rock houses stand on the east side of town, while the black rock dwellings are mostly west of Main Street.

According to Kathleen Farnsworth, most of the stone houses of Beaver were at one time accompanied by stone outbuildings. Many of these outbuildings served a dual purpose: the "upstairs" was used as a granary and the "downstairs" for storing eggs, butter, milk, and other perishables. Even though those days preceeded the coming of the LDS churchwide welfare program, they at least sound Mormon. The Beaver outbuildings resemble none of those drawn and discussed by Henry Glassie in *Pattern,* except many in the East do have upper and lower levels.[4]

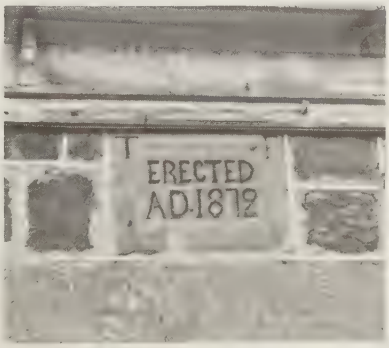
To the east of Beaver, almost in the foothills, stands the last remaining building of what once was Fort Cameron. Construction of Fort Cameron, a United States military installation, was deemed necessary in southern Utah because of Indian raids and the Mountain Meadows Massacre (there are many versions of why the fort was built, both folk and "historical"). Local stonecutters and builders helped with construction that began in 1861, and all the buildings were composed of black

[3] This article comprises Appendix C of Jan Harold Brunvand's *The Study of American Folklore* (New York, 1968), 341.

[4] See *Pattern*, 86–87.

volcanic rock, quarried in the nearby mountains. Thomas Frazer was one of the stonemasons. The only remaining building of the old fort is thought to have been the laundress quarters. It is reminiscent of the black-rock cabins, but was probably built from architectural plans; however, this structure does resemble the Welsh longhouse. In 1873 a detachment of two hundred fifty United States troops arrived at Fort Cameron. The fort was abandoned in 1882 by the army, and taken over partially by the LDS church, which established the Murdock Academy, an extension of Brigham Young Academy. Most of the fort buildings were converted to school use, and other buildings were constructed; but by 1922 and the advent of the public school system, the doors were closed and the land sold to private individuals.

Besides the fact that Beaver City, Utah, is worthy of being declared a National Historic District and that by sheer numbers it almost has more stone buildings than all southern Utah combined, it shows a unique blend of European folk architecture, eastern United States building tradition, and Mormon utilitarianism. Beaver is a microcosm of the Mormon West in a very real sense, a stage where all the drama of everyday life, the life of the folk, was played out on the American frontier, a place where men and women not only left their mark on the land, but a place where the land left its marks on the people. And here, these marks are very evident.



The lintels in this small house are of pink stone, contrasting nicely with the black of the rest of the building. The house has a bay window. The walls are constructed with cut stone, broken course. If the return cornices of this structure are original adornments, one would assume the building was put up during the Greek Revival period, and indeed this house was built in 1872 by Thomas Frazer, a stonemason. A.F. stands for Annie Frazer, his wife. The trim here (consoles or brackets) as well as the return cornices suggest not only Greek Revival architecture, but "professional touches" as well.

This small, two-room stone cabin with a black-stone addition is still occupied. Notice the fine, coursed cut stone work in the walls. All four walls here are cut and coursed. Also notice the stone window and door lintels. This small structure has two red-brick chimneys, both single units, and both of the straddle-ridge type—gable ended. According to Henry Glassie, in the eastern United States "there are a few scattered cabins of stone, frame or log, with rectangular floor plans and gable-end chimneys, very like the houses found in northern and western Ireland and Wales, and similar to some found in Scotland and England." [5] *With the absence of the external chimney, one identifying element of the traditional English cabin, these Beaver structures mirror Scottish folk architectural influence.*

[5] *Pattern,* 48–49.

This building is outside the city limits of Beaver, to the west, in a small hamlet called Greenville, and is a basic cabin of the pink rock. The original stone portion was two-roomed, as was the wooden addition. Greenville, settled later than Beaver (after 1860) has many buildings of the pink-stone. This building is owned by the Yardley family. Notice the wooden bay window; such windows are common (and are usually of stone) in Beaver but are scarce in the folk architecture of other parts of Utah. The usual two, gable-end chimneys are again present.

Laundress quarters of old Fort Cameron.

This picture introduces the I house and "four over four," which must be included in any discussion of Utah folk architecture. The I house, sometimes called a Nauvoo-style house, has a symmetrical plan and façade, according to Francaviglia,[6] one-and-a-half to two stories high,[7] only one-room deep, and usually has a chimney on each end. The "four over four" plan is two rooms rather than one-room deep. Both the I house and the "four over four" are subtypes of the general central-hall house type. According to Glassie, they are related to Georgian architectural influences which profoundly affected American folk architecture.

This I house, besides displaying two stone bay windows and return cornices on the center gable, also has a second-story door. Virtually every house, stone or otherwise, in Beaver that has an upstairs door has either a small or large porch, or balcony, or gallery, that it leads onto, or, if not, displays vestiges of such structures. It is hard to imagine that sober, hardworking, utilitarian, frugal Mormons would build a house with a door leading nowhere.[8] Rather, it seems likely the upstairs door must always have served some purpose. I have been told by numerous informants that upstairs doors all over Utah served as conveniences to the woman of the house: she could shake rugs out the door, etc. Some claim the door was used when raising and lowering furniture or other household goods. Whatever the purpose, the second-story door is widespread in Beaver. This home now displays a small gallery. However, when the author first viewed it only the vestiges of an early structure were visible, and at first glance the door seemed to lead nowhere. Possibly, the reason many of these doors all over the state seem to lead nowhere is because the wood that the balconies and galleries were constructed of was, of course, much more susceptible to weathering and decay than the sturdy stone of the house itself. Especially in an unpainted state—which oftentimes has been the Mormon state—the wood would rapidly deteriorate. A hayrake wheel forms the gate here.

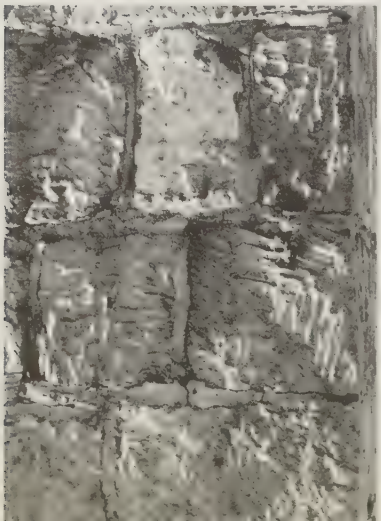
[6] "Mormon Central-Hall House in the American West," 1.

[7] In a discussion with Bruce Buckley, professor of material culture at the State University College at Oneonta, New York, at the annual meeting of the American Folklore Society in Portland, Oregon, October 1974, I was told that the true I house is two full stories. According to Buckley, Glassie also agrees. Thus, to call the one-and-one-half story Nauvoo house an I house may be a technical misnomer.

[8] See Austin Fife's tongue-in-cheek explanation of this architectural oddity in "Stone Houses of Northern Utah," 15.

This structure is typical of the stone outbuildings of Beaver. There is an upstairs, with a basement about five feet deep. The rubble facade is present even in this small outbuilding.

Again of the pink stone, this cabin stands in Adamsville, just west of Greenville. Evidently, the building has recently burned.



Closeup of the stone blocks in the Adamsville cabin. William Pryor of Beaver says that the marks in these tufa blocks were formed with a folk instrument made from an ax. The blade was split and twisted, and when swung against the stone would rough them. The lime mortar used in these houses was fired ten miles west of Beaver as were the native red bricks.

This building, another black-stone cabin, is called by Beaverites the old Huntington home. The structure is abandoned. The small lintels of this house are wood, and part of the front façade is of coursed rubble, while one side is a roughly coursed cut stone. The rubble façade (on one side only) is a persistent folk architectural trait in Beaver. The rubble may either face the road or be "hidden," appear in gable or front façades, but virtually every black-stone building in the town has this interesting characteristic. The two gable-end chimneys persist here. Most of the black-rock cabins in Beaver have plain boxed cornices, probable evidence they were built before the Greek Revival period.

This black-stone mansion, once owned by Charles D. White, would be called a polygamy house by some, if only because of the number of doors;[9] Charles D. White was, in fact, a polygamist. This elaborate structure is of the T formation. Notice the stone lintels.

[9] Legend has it that a true polygamy house had many doors. See Goss, "Utah's Architectural Heritage," 15.

Home of Shadrach Jones, master builder of many of Willard's stone houses. Utah State Historical Society collections.

A Heritage of Stone in Willard

BY TEDDY GRIFFITH

FIVE FAMILIES WINTERED in Farr's Fort in Ogden, waiting for the first sign of spring so they could proceed to Willow Creek and begin a settlement there. Brigham Young's call to this handful of Saints in 1851 was one of the first to result in the settlement of northern Utah. The town-

site had once been a gathering place for Indians of the Fremont culture and is believed to be one of the northernmost areas of their habitation. A series of mounds on the flatlands west of town yielded stone mills, pottery, and flint arrowheads when they were excavated in the early 1900s. These circular homes were twelve feet high and thirty feet in diameter.[1] A V-shaped trap nearby forced buffalo into the lake and made them easy prey. The first homebuilders on this broad alluvial fan at the base of 9,280-foot Willard Peak, then, were Native Americans. Unfortunately, most of the mounds are now beneath Willard Bay.

The original Mormon settlers named their town Willow Creek for the steady, tree-lined stream flowing from the canyon to the east. The five families who arrived on March 31, 1851, camped alongside the creek, awakening to fresh snow the next morning. Their first priority was shelter and they hurried to build five log cabins. Three were close together on the north side of the creek about fifty rods below the point where the road now crosses the creek. The other two cabins were built a short distance northwest.[2]

From their arrival, the settlers looked to the canyon for support. By agrarian instinct they knew the land was fertile, but surely they noticed also the rock-strewn slopes of the Lake Bonneville bench that would have to be cleared to receive crops. The Mormons knew from experience the importance of water, land, and fuel, and must have looked on steep-walled Willow Creek Canyon as a providential gift. Before long, they were diverting the life-giving spring water to the irrigation of their crops. Human greed, disorganization, and failure to cooperate had marked many efforts to settle west of the hundredth meridian, but Brigham Young made the difference in Utah with his solemn declaration that land, water, and fuel were to be distributed equitably according to a specific plan. The Mormons weren't just passing through— this was their land of Zion and by their faith and toil this desert would bloom! The distribution of these resources was the key to success in transplanting a population geared to a humid climate with ample rainfall to a semi-arid environment.

The transition from wagonbox to log cabin was a welcome one, though not an absolute guarantee against rattlesnakes and even more

Mrs. Griffith is director of special projects for the Utah Bicentennial Commission.

[1] Hannah B. Nicholas, *Willard Centennial, 1851–1951: A Brief History of the Past One Hundred Years* ([Willard, 1951]), 9.

[2] Andrew Jenson, comp., "History of the Willard Ward," Archives Division, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

threatening visitors. As in most pioneer communities, there was constant dread of Indian attack or mischief. Several alarming incidents led Brigham Young to call for the construction of forts, and the fort built in Willow Creek between 1852 and 1855 was one of the largest. It was a half mile long and a quarter mile wide, with walls twelve feet high and two feet thick at the top. The east and north walls were mostly rock, while the west and south walls were of dirt. Although completion of the fort served to quiet nerves and clear the land of rubble rock, it soon was deemed unnecessary.[3]

As the town began to stretch beyond the confines of the fort, it took on a typically Mormon plan, with a north-south, east-west grid orientation. The blocks were large and the houses set back from wide streets lined with irrigation ditches. Outbuildings—sheds, granaries, and barns—were scattered through the blocks, and in all of them earth tones predominated. Contrary to the dispersed farmstead pattern fostered elsewhere in the American West by the Homestead Act and other land acts, in Willow Creek the agricultural lands were on the periphery of town, and many are now covered by Willard Bay. Although Willard was part of Weber County in the first years of settlement, it was soon annexed to Box Elder County.[4] Then, in 1857, the residents decided to change the name of their town from Willow Creek to Willard in honor of Willard Richards, an apostle of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Lyman Wells built a small adobe home about 1851 that still stands as the nucleus of a larger brick home and is now listed on the State Register of Historic Sites. By 1852 Dwight Harding and others had built the first schoolhouse in the county, reflecting a general proclivity toward education.[5] As other settlers built homes and community structures, Willard began to assume a distinctive character and appearance that persist to this day. The story of the town's builders and the heritage they left for others to enjoy merits telling in some detail.

By 1856 the George Harding home—a large two-story adobe in the Nauvoo style—had been built. George and his brother Charles drove cattle to California in the early 1850s and brought the first mowing

[3] Lydia Walker Forsgren, *History of Box Elder County* (n.p., n.d.), 269–70.

[4] On January 5, 1856, Box Elder County was created out of a portion of Weber County. The county boundaries were subsequently changed in 1866 and 1880. See Historical Records Survey, Works Progress Administration, *Inventory of the County Archives of Utah,* No. 2 Box Elder County (Ogden, 1938), 5–6. The town of Willard was formally incorporated on February 16, 1870. See Utah Territory, *The Compiled Laws of the Territory of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1876), 743–45.

[5] Nicholas, *Willard Centennial,* 2.

machine and reaper into the county. Then, in 1858, with Johnston's army ready to move into Salt Lake Valley, the Mormons evacuated their northernmost settlements and moved south to the river bottoms near Utah Lake. George Harding and several other young men remained in Willard to carry out a "scorched earth" policy if the soldiers proved hostile. The Harding home served as a headquarters for the Willard men.

George became a seasoned freighter during the 1850s and 1860s. In 1861 he served as captain of a wagon train sent east to aid poor immigrants, and on a subsequent trip east in 1863 he met Mary Jones, a Welsh immigrant whom he married the following year. George built a three-room rock addition to his father's original adobe house for himself and his new bride. He and Mary shared generously with new immigrants to Willard and, in fact, divided their original seventy-five acres until they retained only fifteen or so. The Hardings shared in other ways as well. Polygamists were often sheltered in their home, and a bedroom was set aside for them.

Mary became one of the most successful sericulturists in the state, and one year she and her daughters produced one hundred fifty yards of silk dress goods. She was also a suffragette and the first woman in Box Elder County to serve as a school trustee.[6]

In the 1880s the outer adobe bricks of the home were replaced by red brick made at the mounds west of town. Malcolm Baird recalls how water was run over the clay and then stirred by teams of horses. The mixture was run through a mill and a roller, laid out in slabs, cut into bricks and laid on boards. Six bricks were shaped up on a board and placed over a fire that baked them.[7] The decorative brick lintels on the George Harding home are unusual. The home is listed on the State Register.

Matthew Dalton, a talented carpenter and inventor who came to Willard by way of the Oregon Trail in Idaho, had also completed his two-story adobe home by 1856. It, too, reflected the Nauvoo style, with a central hall and stairway leading to a half-story on the second level. Although Matthew was a gifted craftsman who finished his home with amazing detail within such a few years of settlement, the home stands today in disrepair. An active leader in the LDS church, Dalton published a book, planted the first complete orchard in the county, operated a sail-

[6] For information on George and Mary Harding, see Glen F. Harding, *Dwight Harding Family Book* (Ogden, 1968), 114–33; Forsgren, *History of Box Elder*, 372.

[7] Interview with Malcolm Baird, October 16, 1972, Willard.

boat for freighting goods on the Great Salt Lake, and with his wife Rozilla "kept hotel" in this home.[8]

Within just ten years of the first crude settlement, the Willard pioneers were taking advantage of another gift from the canyon—stone of all colors and descriptions, ready to be joined with a mortar of lime, sand, and straw, and placed in the foundations and walls of their homes. The durability of the stone seems symbolic of the settlers' intention to stay. The early homes were built of rubble stone found in random fashion near the construction site or taken from the abandoned fort. The walls were between eighteen and twenty inches thick and the windows flared to the inside to allow more interior light.

Blueprints for these stone homes existed only in the minds of the pioneers, especially a sprightly stonemason from Wales named Shadrach Jones who was the master designer for most of them. Born a coal miner's son in Llanely, Wales, Shadrach was converted to the Mormon church at the age of seventeen and came to the United States in 1854 with a brother. They soon learned that their father had been killed in a mine accident, and they sent for their mother and brother. So far as has been determined, Shadrach was the first to build homes of stone in Willard and none were built after his death in 1883, with an interesting exception to be mentioned later. Although Shadrach and his wife Mary were childless, they raised several foster children and were regular chaperones of youth dances held on the second floor of their home. As if to keep an eye on the source of his livelihood, Shadrach placed the front entrance to his own two-story home facing the mouth of Willard Canyon. He used little adornment, and the right return of the eaves and careful pointing of the mortar were all that was needed to give this Greek Revival home handsome dignity. Conscious of the pressing tasks and priorities of the frontier, the stonemasons sometimes settled for plain mortar on the less conspicuous walls of their homes as on the south side of the Jones home. Economy was a way of life, and where a porch covered the stones, no laborious pointing was done.[9]

Sometimes the architectural mood was Gothic as with the home Shadrach helped to build for one of the popular Call twins, Omer. Its steep roof and the dormers with their pointed finials seem to be reaching

[8] Nicholas, *Willard Centennial,* 8, 12.

[9] For information on Jones, see Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia,* 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1901–36), 3:660; Forsgren, *History of Box Elder,* 273. Pointing refers to the laborious hand tooling of mortar joints to enhance the appearance of the finished building.

Gothic details add charm to the Omer Call residence with its symmetrical façade and pointed mortar joints. Utah State Historical Society collections.

for the sky. Shadrach built this large, T-shaped home with ornate Gothic trim about 1862. The upper story windows intersect the line of the eaves—a characteristic of Jones's architecture. Upper and lower doors and windows are symmetrical. The windows are set to the exterior of the walls and the sills flare to the interior. The Call home served as a halfway house for travelers and a shelter for many polygamists. A legend persists that Mrs. Call graciously served a chicken dinner to federal marshals downstairs while several polygamists were escaping through the upstairs.

Omer and his twin brother, Homer, had a lifelong business partnership. Together they owned and operated the county's first flour mill where they boxed cereals at the request of Brigham Young. They also subcontracted many miles of road on the Union Pacific line in Wyoming and Utah. In 1856 Omer helped to build stations between Utah and Missouri for the XY Company (Brigham Young Express Carrying Company). Omer was a territorial militiaman, and both twins were strong, athletic, and adept in the sport of "kicking." [10]

[10] For information on Omer and Homer Call, see Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1913), 791; Forsgren, *History of Box Elder*, 15, 271; Nicholas, *Willard Centennial*, 10.

At about the same time as his work on the Call home, Shadrach Jones built a large Gothic home to resemble an English country house for John Miller whose second wife had made this special request. Years later, in 1893, Joseph Toombs bought the home; and although he and his wife raised nine children there, it was not completely finished until 1958 when it was purchased and renovated by the Arthur Bartetzkis. Toombs had crossed the plains with a handcart company and had enlisted as a scout for Gen. George Custer's army when he was seventeen. He freighted to Idaho, particularly to the Salmon River area where he and his six head of horses were a familiar sight.

Another early home of rubble stone was built for Joseph Nicholas. It stands unique as the only home showing holes used to support the scaffolding during construction. Although this structural detail is common throughout the British Isles, the Nicholas home is the only apparent example in Willard. Offset front entrances, on either side of a central wing, are also a variation on the architectural theme in Willard.

Just ten years after settlement Shadrach and his helpers built a large T-shaped, rubble stone house for Richard Jenkins Davis who had come from South Wales to Willard in 1854 and who had helped to build the first road up Willow Creek Canyon. The Davis home is symmetrical, with two dormer windows and a door on the second floor over two windows and a door below on the west side. Originally there were no interior hallways. The second floor was never completed and there are no access stairs either inside or out, despite the story that three of four Davis wives and their children lived in the home. A stone plaque over the front entrance is etched with the inscription "R.J.D. 1861." The original granary still stands to the east of the home. The home remained in the Davis family until 1923 when it was purchased by the Willard Flood Committee and turned over to a family that had lost its home in the disastrous flood of August 1923.

The architecture in Willard did not impress a reporter for the *Deseret News* in early 1863. Signing himself "Voyageur," he wrote:

> I can only say in confirmation of a statement made by Honorable George A. Smith last fall, that the town was so much obscured by straw stacks that points of its elegance were not at once discoverable, but for the partial view afforded, the conclusion was irresistable, that the good people of Willard thought more of their "beef and plum pudding" than of the style of houses they live in.[11]

[11] *Deseret News,* February 25, 1863.

George Mason built this large Greek Revival home in the 1860. Its eleven rooms make it one of the largest houses in Willard. Utah State Historical Society collections, courtesy of Gardner Barlow.

Perhaps this criticism spurred new interest in architectural style, because in 1865 George Mason began to build what was then considered the showplace of Willard. Mason had left Illinois in 1852 for the Salt Lake Valley with an assignment as night guard over the cattle while crossing the plains. He carried mail as a missionary to Independence, Missouri, in 1857 and also hauled provisions to Echo Canyon during the invasion by Johnston's army. He was a prominent dairyman in northern Utah and southern Idaho.[12]

Echoing Greek Revival tradition, the large, two-story Mason home was built of blue granite and timber from Willard Canyon. No nails were used in the construction of the original east wing. Larger rocks formed the exterior walls, and smaller rubble rock was used as filler. In 1880 the east wing was built, using the same materials. In all, the house has eleven rooms. There are both front and back stairways as well as upstairs and downstairs verandas on the north and south. The woodwork in the front entry and stairway was "comb painted" to resemble oak wood graining. A large barn was built in 1857 of huge twelve-by-fifteen-inch timber. No nails were used and all joints were mortised and pegged with wood.

[12] Forsgren, *History of Box Elder*, 50.

Members of the John L. Edwards family pose outside their home. Built of stone by Shadrach Jones, the house was stuccoed over soon after its completion. Utah State Historical Society collections, courtesy of John Edwards.

Religious structures utilized the same materials as Willard's homes. Moses Dudley donated the ground for the Willard Ward meetinghouse that was begun in 1866.[13] The builders gathered many rocks from the abandoned fort for the church's foundation. The red brick building was fifty-seven feet by thirty-five feet and had a bell tower facing the public square. In 1912 classrooms and an amusement hall were added in a two-story north wing. The building was demolished in 1973.

One of northern Utah's most prominent cattlemen, John L. Edwards, built a home of stone in the late 1860s. Edwards, who had come to Willard from Wales, left behind considerable affluence, and his young bride abandoned a vocal career by refusing to heed the advice of Charles Dickens. The famous author had heard her sing as the embarking ship lay in harbor and urged her to stay in England to study music. According to Edwards family tradition, the desire to follow the scriptures was uppermost in their hearts, and nothing could deter them from coming to Zion. Edwards first built a log cabin on his lot, followed shortly by a tiny, one-room building over a storage cellar. Then Shadrach Jones helped to build the charming house adorned with extensive wood trim, a cantilevered porch or balcony, and front and side porches. Soon after the house was completed, the stone surface was stuccoed. John supplied beef for rail-

[13] *Ibid.*, 270.

road construction crews and was a personal acquaintance of Leland Stanford. He is thought to have been the first white man to build a dwelling on Promontory.[14]

Another home reflecting the spartan simplicity of Greek Revival is the Charles Harding home. The predominantly blue hues of granite are probably more pronounced in this home than in any other. Charles, a brother to George, enlisted Shadrach's help to build his two-story, symmetrical home with four windows above three windows and a doorway. Simple wood lintels are set over the windows. Noticeably missing are any signs of chimneys at either end of the gable. Willard residents say the chimneys were removed when a new heating system and roof were installed. There have been no discoveries of wood-burning fireplaces in any of the stone homes built by Shadrach Jones between 1861 and 1883, possibly reflecting a cultural pattern brought from Wales. The chimneys served to vent coal burning stoves, and in most of the houses the circular holes for these pipes can still be observed.

Charles Harding was the town entrepreneur, proprietor of a store stocked with goods he and his brothers brought from California, Omaha, and even Chicago. The second floor of the two-story brick store served as the town music and entertainment hall. Charles also operated a sheep and cattle ranch at Promontory with brothers Alma and George. The Charles Harding home held a rich cache of books, lantern slides, and other educational items. It is small wonder that eleven of twelve children lived to maturity, all becoming university graduates, and that four of the boys went on to distinguished professions in medicine.[15]

The George Facer home, another State Register Site, was built with a porch around the west and south façades—a unique feature among Willard homes. After the porch rotted away, the unpointed rocks were exposed, demonstrating the intent of pointing as a method of adornment that was characteristic of all the stone homes built after 1865 in Willard. George Facer was active in church and civic affairs and loved to have his home the gathering place for young people.[16]

Looking somewhat submerged, the Alfred Ward home represents a composite of Shadrach's earliest and later styles. The east wing of this T-shaped home was built very early for the son of Willard's first mayor. Once known for its beautiful gardens, the Ward grounds were ravaged

[14] For information on Edwards, see Forsgren, *History of Box Elder*, 41, 42–43.

[15] For information on Charles Harding, and his wife, see Harding, *Dwight Harding Family Book*, 193–211.

[16] See Esshom, *Pioneers*, 864–65.

Top left: a stone home in Llanely, Wales, home town of Shadrach Jones. Courtesy of Peter L. Goss. Top right: the Alfred Ward home displays unusual arched brick lintels above the door and windows. Left: the home of William Lowe, a Box Elder County representative in the 1890 territorial legislature.

The Facer home (below) contrasts unpointed stonework once hidden by a porch with the carefully pointed mortar joints of the rest of the façade. Utah State Historical Society collections.

by the Willard flood of 1923. The inundation of mud was so discouraging that the Wards simply uncovered the doors and windows and left the hilly contours. (Until early 1975, the east room was never cleared of debris. The present owners have recently excavated jars of preserves put up in 1923!) The west wing of the home is unusual for the arched red brick lintels over the doors and windows. Obviously, the Wards favored arches, since the interior doorway into the living room was arched also.

In addition to the early stone houses, two wood frame homes of pioneer vintage in the Gothic tradition still stand in Willard. One is the Jonathan Wells home on the east side of town. Its dormer windows are similar in scale to those of the rock homes. The other is the large Solomon Warner home just north of the Matthew Dalton home. Warner was Willard's first postmaster and justice of the peace, and he and his wife "kept hotel" here when called upon.[17]

The last house Shadrach Jones helped to build was that of Robert Bell Baird in 1882–83. Probably the Baird home manifests the greatest extension of owner personality into architecture in Willard. The bargeboards under the eaves boast a carefully cut series of musical notes, as if to proclaim the lyricism of the owner. Baird, who wrote many hymns and songs, cut the musical notes from a one-by-twelve-inch board with a treadsaw. Although by the late 1870s mill-run wood trim was available in Utah, the musical notes stand out as one of the unique architectural details of Willard. The dormer windows and finial decoration echo the Gothic tradition, but the west porch recalls Greek Revival style. The lintels over the windows are decorated and the wood trim on the porches is ornate. The interior represents a total economy of space, with a yard-square landing leading to the second story reached from three different rooms. To convert the home to gas heat, Malcolm Baird, grandson of Robert, tunneled underneath the floor to install the heat ducts. The original granary to the southeast of the house has a thick rock foundation extending down to include a cellar paved with eight-inch-square bricks, each four inches thick.

Robert Bell Baird began working for the railroad in 1874, first as a section hand, then foreman, and later as agent. After nine years as railroad agent at the Willard depot, Baird was released because he did not know telegraphy. He held other railroad jobs until his daughter Rachel learned telegraphy and he could work with her as agent. An attempt to give up railroading for complete devotion to music proved economically

[17] See schematic map of Willard in Harding, *Dwight Harding Family Book*, 341.

Musical notes carved in the bargeboards under the eaves proclaim the identity of the home's original owner, Robert Bell Baird, a musician of local note. Salt Lake Tribune *photograph.*

impractical. He led the Willard Ward choir from 1884 to 1903 and composed several hymns as well as the music for the first primary songbook. Baird's organ remains in the home today and is believed to have been one of the first to come to Utah.[18]

Shadrach Jones was called to a mission for the LDS church in Wales in 1883 and never returned to Willard. Whether the stonemason died from illness or asphyxiation will probably never be certain. One account heard recently asserted that Shadrach, not understanding the gas lights in his room in Swansea, Wales, blew out the flame and died during the night from lack of oxygen.

Although Shadrach's death seemed to have brought stone home construction to an end in Willard, many significant buildings of brick were built for several decades. The little tithing office of pale yellow brick, a reminder of the system of tithing-in-kind practiced at the turn of the century, stands on the northwest corner of the former tithing yard that was once crowded with haystacks, sheds, and corrals. On the northwest corner of the town square stands the city hall, built of red brick around 1899. Its simple lines are embellished by arched windows. The town council still meets here, surrounded by antique chairs and a handsome oak rolltop desk.

[18] *Ibid.*, 352; Nicholas, *Willard Centennial*, 16.

In 1878 the Willard Ward Relief Society building was begun. It was completed by 1880 at a total cost of $1,076.10.[19] The upper floor was used for meetings and socials and shared with the church youth. The lower floor contained wheat bins and one room for town council meetings. A bell was installed in the belfry and rung one hour before meetings or to warn polygamists that the United States deputy marshals were enroute from Ogden. It also announced the curfew for people and the signal at dawn for cows to be taken to the range.

Another brick structure was erected for the Utah Northern Railroad that once ran through Willard on Second West. The brick depot serves now as a residence for the Harvey Mund family. Proximity to the street and a distinctive roof line are clues to the heritage of this building.

Because the population of Willard has remained fairly stable since 1900, very little pressure has been placed on the land within the original townsite. Lots continue to be owned within the same family, and there has been a general reluctance to sell or subdivide. An ordinance passed in 1973 requires residential lots to be at least one-half acre with a one-hundred-foot frontage on the street. The new ordinance did not rule out animals for reasonable domestic use, so barnyard animals are common throughout the town. People on horseback seem at times to use the roads as much as cars.

Open space in the interior blocks is a strong townscape feature in Willard, a quality that tends to accentuate the architecture. Although the architectural styles are simple, they are handsome and the scale of homes is uniform throughout the district to create a distinct townscape feeling. The workmanship is excellent, reflecting Brigham Young's wisdom in organizing colonizing groups to include those with the basic skills necessary for settlement. Over forty pioneer structures still exist in Willard and many are listed on the State Register of Historic Sites. Twelve blocks of the original townsite have been listed as Utahs' first Historic District on the National Register of Historic Places maintained by the Department of the Interior.

Largely through the efforts of Austin E. Fife,[20] whose research and papers on the stone houses of northern Utah have received international attention, several promising developments to preserve Willard's unique heritage have been underway since 1972. A composite rating scale to

[19] Alice Harding, "Manuscript History of the Willard Ward Relief Society," typescript copy in the possession of Edith Baddley McClurg.

[20] Austin E. Fife, "The Stone Houses of Northern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly,* 40 (Winter 1970), 6–23.

assess the architectural and historical value of buildings plus a survey of the opinions of residents on landmarks, nodes, paths, and other town qualities were the foundation for a historic preservation plan published for Willard in 1973.[21] Since then, several workshops have been held, and Willard residents anxious to preserve their heritage have incorporated the Historic Willard Society. The society encourages the preservation and restoration of historic buildings and the protection of town and landscape features. Their most recent efforts have been to cosponsor a regional workshop on historic districts for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, to host a tour in cooperation with the Utah Heritage Foundation during National Historic Preservation Week, and to restore the original pioneer Willard Cemetery as a Bicentennial project.

The demand for historic buildings in Willard seems to exceed the supply. When the William Jacksons wanted to move into a stone home in Willard and found none available, they built one themselves with the thick walls characteristic of the old stone homes. Mr. Jackson's craftsmanship carries on an old Willard tradition of excellence, hard work, and ingenuity—especially in an age of mechanization and prefabrication. If anyone can imagine how Shadrach Jones and his helpers worked to combine beauty and function in Willard, it would be the Jacksons. And if ever a community should foster pride, Willard must. While one wonders whether man can ever improve the natural landscape, in Willard the tradition exists for a harmonious relationship to it at the very least.

[21] Gerald Brown and Teddy Griffith, *Willard: A Plan for Its Historic Preservation* (Logan, 1973).

Shadrach Jones gave the John Miller home an unusual appearance by treating the stone differently. Utah State Historical Society collections.

Recently saved from destruction, the Bountiful Tabernacle is the oldest religious structure in continuous use in Utah and the best example of pioneer Greek Revival architecture. Photograph by Allen D. Roberts.

Religious Architecture of the LDS Church: Influences and Changes since 1847

BY ALLEN D. ROBERTS

THE VARIETY OF Mormon ecclesiastical architecture, both as to types of buildings and their styles, has long been a source of wonderment and pleasure for numerous architectural and historical buffs, artists and

photographers, traveling church members and tourists, and local casual observers. This essay will explore some of the factors and influences that have led to the fascinating variety of historic religious architecture produced by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Within ten years after the arrival of the first company of pioneers to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, ninety-six new settlements were established throughout the territory. Perhaps three hundred other settlements followed, as church-assisted colonization continued until about 1904.[1] The extraordinary organizational abilities of church leaders were no doubt an important ingredient in the success of the Mormon colonizing efforts. The farsighted selection and preparation of Mormon converts for the very demanding pioneer life in Utah provides an example that has particular application to the eventual religious architecture of the church.

Missionaries in America and abroad were instructed to seek out skilled craftsmen of all types and urge them to bring blueprints and the tools of their trades to America.[2] Those who could bring these things were asked by church agents to purchase window glass, nails, tools, and other items from outfitting stations before leaving for Salt Lake City. Upon arrival, workmen were classified and listed according to their skills. In this way the church was kept aware of its work force and could provide local wards and colonizing parties with the exact personnel needed to be self-sufficient and to accomplish specific tasks. New immigrants attended placement meetings at which bishops selected people for their wards according to their skills. At one such meeting, "one bishop said he would take five bricklayers, another two carpenters, and a third a tinman."[3] Before leaving for the settlements, colonizers attended an instructional meeting where advice and encouragement were given. Perseverance and faith were emphasized, questions were answered, and companies were organized in typical Mormon military fashion. The pioneers had a good sense of what they had to do, and in many cases they were successful beyond expectation.

In each prospective settlement, the new land was dedicated by prayer. Seeds were planted, irrigation systems were developed, a townsite was surveyed, trees were felled, and work began on the construction

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[1] Milton R. Hunter, *Brigham Young, the Colonizer,* 4th ed. rev. (Salt Lake City, 1973), 377–83.

[2] Douglas C. McMurtrie, ed., *The General Epistle of the Latter-day Saints December 23, 1847* (Chicago, 1935).

of individual buildings, or, in some cases, a fort or stockade. Each day's work was planned in meetings, and every person had specific jobs to do, usually related to his particular skills and equipment. One of the first tasks was the planning of a large block in the center of the village for public buildings. The first building would be a multi-purpose meetinghouse.[4] In Utah, religious architecture begins with the construction of crude, temporary log meetinghouses.

Early Settlement, or Prearchitecture, 1847–52

The First Meetinghouse. Virtually all of the old Mormon settlements, and many of those in the early twentieth century as well, built at least one prearchitectural meetinghouse. Since by definition architecture deals with principles of artistic expression as well as pure structure, early log meetinghouses do not strictly qualify as architecture. These very small early buildings were all structure and no styling.

The first meetinghouse built in Farmington in 1849 measured only sixteen-by-eighteen feet. This log structure had a roof of willows and dirt and a floor of puncheon or split logs, smoothed with an adz. Seats were also made of split logs with holes bored in each end and stakes put in the holes for legs. The walls were chinked from the outside and plastered with mud. When a new meetinghouse was built in Farmington in 1852–53, the old one was moved and used for a blacksmith shop.[5]

The typical first meetinghouse was a detached structure, but some were included as part of a fort. Most were erected quickly, sometimes in less than a day. These crude log buildings must have seemed dismal to the Mormons who remembered the proud masonry structures they had left in Nauvoo. A description of the first Brigham City meetinghouse, built in 1853, capsulizes an attitude many may have shared:

> Even the log meetinghouse, with its ground floor and earth roof, was more extensively patronized as a receptacle for bed bugs than for the assembly of saints.[6]

The Bowery. Another early religious building was an arborlike structure called a bowery. The idea seems to have been a refinement of the open-air meetinghouses of Nauvoo.[7] Boweries may not have been con-

[3] W.H. Dixon, *New America* (Philadelphia, 1867), 177.

[4] Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 90.

[5] Andrew Jenson, ed., "Farmington Ward History," Archives Division, Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

[6] Andrew Jenson, ed., "Brigham City Ward History," LDS Archives.

[7] David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Salt Lake City, 1974), 69–70.

The Old Tabernacle and the third bowery on Temple Square, ca. 1854. The adobe tabernacle, actually a sophisticated dugout, seated twenty-five hundred, while the open-air bowery accommodated eight thousand in questionable comfort. Utah State Historical Society collections, gift of Leon L. Watters.

sidered architecture, but the partial shelter they provided from the elements must have been appreciated.

The bowery in Salt Lake City was erected by members of the Mormon Battalion July 31, 1847, and was the first Mormon structure built in the valley. It consisted of posts set in the ground to support a canopy of poles and a roof of brush and willows. The structure was erected in one day. It was replaced the following year by a bowery 60-by-100 feet. A few years later a third bowery constructed of poles and boarding was built behind the first tabernacle. While the tabernacle (built 1851–52) seated twenty-five hundred, the bowery seated eight thousand.[8]

Most of the largest boweries were built in towns on Brigham Young's traveling circuit. The prophet attracted large crowds that only huge boweries, such as the ones in Parowan and Willard, could accommodate. The Parowan bowery was 54-by-77 feet and, according to Brigham's scribe, was

> different from anything he had ever seen in the territory, the height in the center being about 15′ sloping to the sides. The roof sustained by two rows of clean scantlings; attached to these were bolted the stretchers or rafters of the roof. Across these were stretched strips of lumber at 24 inches on center, and over all was placed a thin layer of brush, just enough to make shade. . . .[9]

[8] Marguerite Cameron, *This Is The Place* (Caldwell, Ida., 1941), 153.
[9] Andrew Jenson, ed., "Parowan Ward History," LDS Archives.

Designed by Truman O. Angell in 1851, the proposed Seventies Hall (top) was never realized, but it illustrates the skill of pioneer architects. Utah State Historical Society photograph, Widtsoe Collection.

Early adobe buildings such as the Twentieth Ward School were simple and unpretentious. Utah State Historical Society photograph, gift of Margaret N. Patrick.

The Willard bowery, built in 1865, was 40-by-60 feet. "It was enclosed on the sides with boards, except at the entrances. A stand ten-by-forty feet at one end was covered with homemade cloth with bolts of fine patterned homemade cloth of linen and cotton as covering on the ceiling over the speaker's head and at the entrances." [10]

No examples of original boweries remain, nor are there many examples of the first log meetinghouses. These structures were intended to be temporary. Since wood was scarce, most early buildings were razed and the materials reused as soon as it was possible to erect a better structure. In some settlements, three or four log meetinghouses and boweries were built in the first few years before finally giving way to the adobe structures of the next period.

Middle Settlement, or Early Adobe, 1853–58

The 1850s brought a continuous influx of pioneers to Utah from Europe and the eastern United States. Although forts were still being built in some towns, overall stability had been achieved in most of the colonies. By this time many of the older communities had begun irrigation systems, roads, mills, kilns, and quarries. With the development of basic construction technology, more substantial, less primitive structures were built. Building tools carried across the plains were supplemented by tools made in the foundry near Salt Lake City. In addition, the California gold rush of 1849–50 brought unexpected wealth to Salt Lake City, much of which was used by the church for public works that led directly to the rapid advancement of architecture in the Salt Lake Valley, and later in outlying colonies.

[10] Andrew Jenson, ed., "Willard Ward History," LDS Archives.

Public Works. The church office of superintendent of public works was created in January 1850. Daniel H. Wells, the first superintendent—a position later known as the presiding bishop—exerted great influence and was considered one of the General Authorities. A church architect was also appointed in 1850. He received orders from Brigham Young and the Council of the Twelve Apostles pertaining to specific building projects and acted as both general contractor and architect, preparing drawings and specifications, making material lists, securing labor, and supervising construction.

Each church member was asked to tithe or donate every tenth day of labor to public work projects. Church workers established a construction headquarters on the northeast corner of the temple block that included a carpentry shop, paint shop, and stonecutting and blacksmith shops. A lime kiln was built by 1853, and a public adobe yard had operated since fall 1847. In 1852 a machine shop was set up, followed by a foundry in 1854 and a nail factory in 1859.[11] While some of these shops and factories were short-lived, they provided incentive and example for other settlements. Thanks to church insistence on community permanence and self-sufficiency, building technology developed rapidly throughout the state, and there was little dependence upon importation of materials and equipment.

Adobe Buildings. The common building material of the mid-1850s was adobe. Good adobe clay was found throughout the territory, and one man could make several hundred adobe bricks in a day. These adobes varied in quality and durability, but their insulating qualities were excellent. Adobe could be used to produce a building form that closely approximated the Mormon ideals of strength, permanence, and beauty.[12] President Brigham Young was convinced that adobe was superior to stone. He insisted that if the Salt Lake Temple could not be built of platina (crude native platinum) or pure gold, it should be made of adobe instead of rock. He preached that the pyramids of Egypt were made of adobes, "clay mixed with straw," that petrified over the years into a perfect, solid rock. Young commented in a speech delivered October 9, 1852: "If a man should undertake to put me up a stone house, I should wish him to build it of adobies instead, then I should have a good house."[13] Although the Salt Lake Temple was built of granite, President Young's

[11] Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom,* 110–11.

[12] Leon Sidney Pitman, "A Survey of Nineteenth Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1973), 21–25.

[13] *Journal of Discourses,* 26 vols. (Liverpool and London, 1854–86), 1:218–20.

counsel was usually heeded faithfully, and his promotion of adobe may have caused a greater use of this material than would otherwise have been natural.

Early adobe meetinghouses were characteristically small, one-room structures with walls of either solid adobe brick or log or rough frame studding with adobe brick as a liner between the studs and as an interior and exterior veneer. Compared with the early log walls, adobe walls were very thick—as much as three feet thick in some cases. Earlier buildings had crude log, brush, and dirt roofs, but as sawmills were built, lumber roof sheathing was introduced and gabled; watertight roofs appeared. The better meetinghouses had stone foundations, with the floor raised slightly above grade. The few large tabernacles started during this period were huge dugouts and had half a story below ground to permit greater ceiling height in the main assembly room. The old Salt Lake, Nephi, and Ogden tabernacles were built in this manner, but no examples exist today.

The most noticeable difference between the earliest and later adobe meetinghouses was the presence of simple, classically styled cornices. Among the tools brought by the early pioneers were interior cornice planes and knives for milling exterior cornice molding. As lime kilns and sawmills were developed, artisans could use their plaster planes, molding knives, and other finishing tools. While the appearance of classical cornices indicated a movement toward meetinghouses that would be less vernacular and more classical in design, the first adobe meetinghouses were clearly vernacular structures. The window and door bays were square with wood lintels and sills; the plans were rectangular and one-storied; there were no steeples, belfries, cupolas, or decorative elements other than the cornices and perhaps some hand-made sash windows.

The development of Mormon architecture depended upon continuously changing influences. Climate, availability of materials, human resources (including technology and taste), and many other factors affected the design of all buildings. Religious architecture was further influenced by growth patterns within the church. Not only did the membership grow, but the organizational structure of the church also grew with every new revelation and refinement of doctrine. The development of Mormon architecture is as much a story of change in church philosophy and expansion of church organization as it is a story of the adoption of technological or stylistic improvements.[14]

[14] Ebbie L. Davis, "Form-Function Relationships in the Development of LDS Architecture" (M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1970), 2–7.

The Moroni tithing office, ca. 1880, is a rather refined masonry structure with an unusual side entrance. Tithing houses were erected in every Mormon community and were the focal points of the early LDS economic system. Photograph by Allen D. Roberts.

Tithing Office. The first auxiliary building to the multipurpose meetinghouse and bowery was the tithing office. Tithing became an accepted doctrine of the church in 1831, but it was not regularly collected in Utah until the early 1850s when a general tithing office was established in Salt Lake City and a network of local and regional offices was set up throughout the territory. From then on virtually every ward or settlement had a tithing office or bishop's storehouse with accompanying barns, corrals, and granaries for the storage of tithing in kind. Two-thirds of the cash tithing was sent to Salt Lake City where it was disbursed back to towns with instructions specifying its use, such as for constructing meetinghouses or building roads. Although the church assisted monetarily with the construction of religious buildings, it did not give more than general guidelines for the design of buildings. Perhaps this accounts for the refreshing variety of styles eventually produced in Mormon communities.

The tithing office became the focal point of activity in each town. Its importance cannot be overstated.

> Besides functioning as collector of revenue for the Church it served as a communal receiving and disbursing agency, warehouse, weighing station, livestock corral, general store, telegraph office, employment exchange and social security bureau. These functions carried it into banking, the fixing of official prices and bulk selling.[15]

Architecturally, the typical tithing office was one-and-one-half-story with a full cellar underground. In construction and style they were much like the meetinghouses of the time. Very few of the oldest tithing offices remain, but some excellent examples from the 1860s to 1880s are extant.

[15] Leonard J. Arrington, "The Mormon Tithing House: A Frontier Business Institution," *Business History Review*, 28 (March 1954), 24.

Late Settlement: Arrival of Foreign Styles, 1859–69

Many communities were firmly established by 1860. Indians were more peaceful in most areas, and settlements began to expand beyond the walls of the old forts. Another seeming threat to survival, Johnston's army had slowed building progress in 1857–58, but in 1861 the army left the territory and blessed the Saints with a windfall of four million dollars worth of goods, including foodstuffs, wagons, teams, iron, and nails. Much of this material found its way into meetinghouses in the Salt Lake and Utah valleys.

In the eastern United States, through which missionaries, converts, and church leaders traveled, the Greek Revival and earlier Federal architectural periods were beginning to decline. Yet, for the Utah Saints who were just coming into their own, these styles produced suitable models for the church buildings erected in the territory's more prosperous communities. Although a theocratic society, Mormons considered themselves American in every way. It is no wonder that they readily adapted the American Federal and Greek Revival styles to their own religious architecture.

Although the Federal influence had declined by 1830, it was utilized to some extent in the Kirtland (1833–36) and Nauvoo (1842–46) temples and found its way into the earliest Mormon buildings in Utah. These buildings for the most part avoided the heavy, columned porticos and gargantuan forms but relied on the style's symmetry, formalism, and lesser details. Federal door and window types, pedimented gables, classic cornices, quoins and other details were integrated with old vernacular forms to produce a very stately and refined religious architecture. However, the best examples of the Federal style have been destroyed.

The Bountiful Tabernacle, built between 1857 and 1863, represents the full flowering of the Greek Revival style in early Mormon architecture. It was built during the Romantic Era of American architecture (1820–60) when the Greek and Gothic Revival styles had their heydays. The Greek Revival in America evolved, like the Federal, into a distinctively American style. The decorative vocabulary was based upon Greek detailing, but the forms and plans were American and felt only minor influence from Europe.[16] American architects adapted the new style to the variable needs and limitations of each region. Traditional vernacular

[16] Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture, 1840–1850* (Baltimore, Md., 1968).

Typical of early vernacular structures, the West Jordan rock meetinghouse used indigenous rock and only slight decorative elements. Utah State Historical Society collections.

forms using local building materials were enhanced and dignified with classical Greek detailing.

Many pioneer artisans whether from New England or Europe, were acquainted with Greek detailing. The style permeated every conceivable type of building, and early meetinghouses were no exception. A majority of the Salt Lake City wardhouses built in the late 1850s through the late 1860s were Greek Revival in style.[17] The few meetinghouses not built under stylistic influence in this period continued to follow vernacular patterns.

Factors other than stylistic also affected Mormon architecture during prerailroad days. In 1857–58, when the church recalled its missionaries and converts to Zion, the influx of people resulted in the building of many new and larger meetinghouses. Technology also became more advanced, as such items as window sashes and glass were manufactured locally. Kiln-dried bricks began to appear in the early 1860s but were not used in many meetinghouses until the 1870s.[18] Several stone churches were built in the 1860s, the rock churches in West Jordan, Parowan, and Farmington being among the best extant examples. A few frame buildings were also erected. Of these, only the outstanding Pine Valley meetinghouse (1868–84) remains.

[17] Stylistic comparison based on the author's extensive photograph collection of historic Mormon architecture.

[18] Pitman, "Folk Housing," 83–89.

While most meetinghouses continued to serve as schoolhouses, many buildings began to take on a particularly religious character. As school districts built their own schools and civic functions were served by new town halls, a general transition from multipurpose meetinghouse to wardhouse or church took place. There is no doubt, for example, that the Bountiful Tabernacle (1857–63) was built specifically as a religious structure. With encouragement from Brigham Young to build the best meetinghouses possible, several churches became nearly spectacular, if not in size, at least in attention to craftsmanship and detailing. Consider the Millcreek wardhouse, still standing at 606 East 3900 South in Salt Lake City.

> December 29, 1867: Apostles Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon dedicated (temporarily) the recently erected meetinghouse. It is an adobe building, 40 × 62 feet, 22 feet to the ceiling, with a vestry, 18 × 25 feet on the south end. It is two stories high. March 6–7, 1875. The meetinghouse is finished and painted. Doors, windows and door panels, casings and woodworking, except the stand were grained in oak imitation and the stand in cherry. The top of the pulpit was handsomely cushioned as were the seats in the stand. A large cornice with four handsome centerpieces adorned the ceiling. Several appropriate mottoes were painted on the front of the gallery in the north end of the building. Commodious seats were placed upon the floor, altogether making the room one of the best finished and most conveniently seated halls in the country.[19]

Another factor influencing Mormon architecture of the 1860s was preparation for the coming of the railroad. Despite some misgivings, church leaders welcomed the railroad but made careful preparations, both spiritual and temporal, for its coming. They anticipated that the railroad would bring many non-Mormons, or Gentiles, to the territory, most of whom would have exploitive motives. To offset any efforts to secularize the kingdom and dilute theocratic control, the church, in late 1867, started a program of establishing Relief Societies in each ward and, in 1868, reinstated the School of the Prophets. The Schools of the Prophets were organized in each ward to make decisions related to local problems. In a few meetinghouses built in Salt Lake City during this period, a special room was provided for the meetings of the school. After the school was disbanded in 1874, these rooms were used as classrooms or for priesthood meetings, or perhaps by newly formed Relief Societies.

Relief Society Hall. The architectural result of the expansion of the Relief Society was a new building type, the Relief Society hall. The first hall was built in the Fifteenth Ward in Salt Lake City in 1868–69.

[19] Andrew Jenson, ed., "Millcreek Ward History," LDS Archives.

Parowan Relief Society hall, 1905. Revitalized in 1868, women's Relief Society organizations built their own halls where they could meet and work on various domestic and charitable projects. Utah State Historical Society photograph, Widtsoe Collection.

> The building was a two-story frame building, about 20 × 30 feet and cost $2,631. The ward store occupied the first story July 22, 1869, bringing into the Society a perpetual revenue; while the ward Relief Society Hall was in the second story.[20]

This and subsequent halls were often planned and styled after Joseph Smith's two-story store in Nauvoo in which the Relief Society was first organized in 1842.

In 1868 Relief Society President Eliza R. Snow and her associates traveled to nearly every settlement in Utah organizing and strengthening ward societies. Soon most wards were building their own Relief Society halls, some of which were so commodious and well built that they were used as ward meetinghouses as well. Citizens of Nephi, for example, built three Relief Society halls in the 1880s that were used as wardhouses until larger buildings were required.[21] Halls throughout the church varied in their architecture according to the needs and resources of each Society. Halls of log, frame, adobe, brick, and rock construction still remain in Utah. Early styles generally followed meetinghouse architecture, but later halls took on particularly residential characteristics and were sometimes referred to as "homes." Relief Society halls declined in importance in the twentieth century, and in 1921 the church discouraged local Relief Societies from building separate halls and provided space for them in ward meetinghouses, a practice that had been established in some wards as early as 1872.[22]

Relief Society Granaries. In 1876, as a result of President Brigham Young's call for women of the church to store grain against times of need,

[20] Susa Young Gates, "Relief Society Beginnings in Utah," *Relief Society Magazine,* (April 1922), 187.

[21] Andrew Jenson, ed., "Nephi Ward Histories," LDS Archives.

[22] General Board of the Relief Society, *A Centenary of Relief Society* (Salt Lake City, 1942), 67.

Relief Society granaries were built. These were simple structures usually built of lumber or rock and were used for the storage of wheat raised by or donated to the Relief Society.

Architecturally, the granaries were devoid of decoration but showed diversity of construction, particularly among wood structures. Some were built with outside studs, a stud-frame construction in which wood planks were applied to the inside of the walls leaving the studs exposed on the outside. Other granaries, such as the one standing behind the stone granary in Ephraim, had walls of solid two-by-four-inch studs, a type of structure that would be very costly today. In construction and purpose, Relief Society granaries, tithing granaries, and private farm granaries were very much alike. Some granaries, such as the one in the Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward, were so well built that they were used as ward meetinghouses for a time.

The Relief Society also supported the erection of other buildings such as hospitals and homes for the disadvantaged. Perhaps the most notable religious structure built by the Society was the Weber Stake Relief Society meetinghouse, a Gothic-styled building erected in 1902 and still standing. It was the only building in the church constructed for stake assemblies of the Relief Society.

Extant structures from this period include:

Alpine meetinghouse (1863)
Bountiful Tabernacle (1857–63)
Coalville Rock Tabernacle (1868)
Fairview tithing office (ca. 1866)
Farmington rock chapel (1862)
Grantsville Branch meetinghouse (1861)
Grantsville Ward meetinghouse (1866)
Kanosh tithing office (1870)
Millcreek meetinghouse (1867–76)
Paradise tithing office (1863)
Parowan rock meetinghouse (1862–66)
Providence rock meetinghouse (1868)
Pine Valley meetinghouse (1868–84)
Salt Lake Tabernacle (1863–67)
St. George First Ward (1863–65)
St. George Second Ward (1865)
St. George Tabernacle (1865–71)
Spring City Relief Society granary (ca. 1875)
Toquerville meetinghouse (1866–79)
Virgin meetinghouse (1866)
West Jordan rock meetinghouse (1861–67)

Late Pioneer or Postrailroad Period, 1869–89

The year 1869 marked a turning point in the history of Utah with the coming of the railroad to the territory. The availability of a wider selection of materials and technology, exposure to design tastes of the outside world, and the influx of Gentiles and their lifestyles all influenced church architecture and caused it to drift away from vernacularism into

the dizzying current of high styles. This river of styles with its variant stylistic tributaries would carry church architecture on a meandering course that would see the church embrace parts of nearly every style ever introduced to the United States.

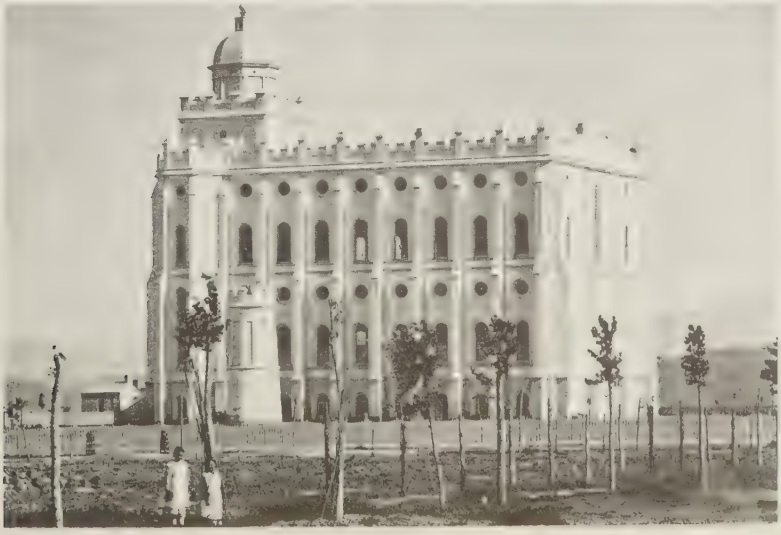
Gothic Revival Influence. For reasons unknown, American Gothic Revival forms were avoided by the church during the period of that style's greatest popularity, 1840–60. Then, after it had become outmoded, it was finally adapted as a style suitable for LDS architecture. Although Gothic windows were employed in the earliest LDS church building, the Kirtland Temple, this style did not become a dominant factor in church architecture until about 1870 when the St. George Temple, followed in the same decade by the Manti and Logan temples, employed what has been called a castellated variety of the Gothic style. In Mormondom, this was a specialized style found only in temple architecture.

Not until about 1880 did the Gothic Revival take hold in meetinghouse architecture. In this year the Salt Lake Fifteenth, Thirteenth, and Eighteenth wards and the Ogden Second and Third wards built or were in the process of designing meetinghouses featuring elements that were typically Gothic Revival: buttressed walls, central tower with steeple, and Gothic window and door bays of the pointed style. Only the most humble of these structures, the Salt Lake Third Ward meetinghouse remains to this day.

It may have taken the Saints the three decades from 1840 to 1870 to develop the technology required to build Gothic Revival buildings. Or perhaps there was a concerted effort to avoid this style because of its association with Roman Catholic and Protestant church buildings. Most likely the technology was lacking. It is no coincidence that Gothic Revivalism in LDS architecture sprang up almost immediately after the coming of the railroad to the territory in 1869. Quicker access to population centers in the East meant great exposure to the fine church buildings there as well as better access to Gothic windows and sashes and other materials that could be more easily imported than locally manufactured.

The Gothic Revival forms were not easily cast aside once they were finally accepted. From 1870 until about 1936 a thread of Gothicism, however thin in some years, ran through the design products of LDS architects. While categorizations are difficult to make due to exceptions and overlapping, some general divisions in the long spectrum of LDS Gothicism can be made. If unorthodox nomenclature will be accepted for descriptive purposes, the following periods seem apparent:

Greek Revival and Gothic Revival architecture greatly influenced church-built structures in Utah. Clockwise from the left: Cedar City Co-op Store, 1869; Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward, 1879, shows the use of Gothic decorative elements; Salt Lake Tenth Ward, 1873, is the best remaining pioneer meeting-house in the area; an early view of the St. George Temple shows a short, ill-proportioned tower that was destroyed by lightning and rebuilt in a new design (note stone water tower in foreground). Utah State Historical Society collections.



Castellated Gothic, 1871–85. As employed in the designs of the Manti, Logan, and, to a lesser extent, St. George temples, this style was not considered practical for smaller ward meetinghouses.

Monumental New English Gothic, 1879–93. As expressions of stateliness, dignity, elegance, and strength, Gothic Revival meetinghouses and tabernacles of this period were very successful. General characteristics included the New England central steeple tower, heavy buttressing, corbeling in brick and stone, pinnacles, and overall decorousness and refinement. A second category includes frame buildings, simple rectangular structures with gabled roofs and smaller, gabled-front vestries and Gothic bays.

Simplified Gothic, 1894–1904. These buildings were generally built by smaller wards outside of Salt Lake Valley. They were brick, lightly proportioned, and without a central tower.

English Gothic Parish Church, 1900–1918. This style represents a specific type of Gothic Revivalism to suit the needs of smaller American congregations.[23] Distinctive architectural characteristics included the square buttressed vestry tower, crenelated parapets, exposed wooden gable bracing, a comparatively low and spreading profile plus the usual pointed Gothic bays and wall buttresses.

Combination Gothic, 1902–10. For lack of a better term, combination Gothic includes a significant number of meetinghouses that had the essence of the Gothic Revival form but were not Gothic in their detailing, using round-arched or Roman windows for example, or square towers, rambling plans, and spiked or hipped steeples or roofs. These buildings were particular to the northern part of the state, from Salt Lake City northward.

Concrete Gothic, 1913–28. To common brick buildings were added extensive cast-concrete moldings. Buttress caps, gabled caps, horizontal bands of flowers, and other decorative motifs complemented ornate window moldings. The windows were often Tudor-arched and were recessed, had thick mullions, tracery, and splayed frames. Aside from the trim, there were few Gothic elements in the meetinghouses of this period.

Elizabethan Tudor Gothic, 1928–36. In this style, Gothicism made its final appearance (with the possible exception of some very recent Neogothic windows and cast-concrete moldings on new meetinghouses). Features included rusticated stone as the main building material, oak

[23] G.H. Cook, *The English Medieval Parish Church* (London, 1968).

millwork, massive and steeply pitched roofs, metal steeples at the crossing of the roof ridges, half timbers on the upper gables, and square window bays. These buildings had great strength and ecclesiastical character. A significant forerunner of this style was the Payson Second Ward meetinghouse, built in 1896 and still standing. Though constructed four decades earlier, it displayed many of the same design features as the churches built during the 1930s.

While the Gothic influence was felt in church architecture of the 1870s and 1880s, it was by no means the dominant style. Buildings combining vernacular forms and materials with classical decorative elements were still erected throughout the church well into the 1890s. This was especially true of the more remote or recently settled towns.

General developments in late pioneer meetinghouse architecture included the engaged central tower and steeple introduced in 1879, the common usage of stone and brick as main building materials, larger and more varied window and door bays, the split-level plan with an assembly room situated above a central aisle and classrooms on either side, sloping floors for better viewing of the speaker, vaulted ceilings and galleries, and diversity of forms and detailing. Meetinghouses were clearly churchlike in character by this time.

The United Order. Some new and unique types of buildings appeared in the territory with the churchwide establishment of the United Order in 1874. Among these were United Order co-op stores (similar to earlier Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institutions established in 1868), United Order dance halls, dining halls, meetinghouses, schools, factories, storehouses, and many other related buildings intended to serve the needs of a specialized, communal economic system. In their architecture, most United Order structures did not vary from earlier styles or construction methods for the simple reason that the people doing the building were the same. The United Order lasted for less than a year in most towns and as long as ten years in others. Of the few United Order buildings standing today, the two-story rock school and tithing office in Virgin (1874–75) is perhaps most impressive.

Social Halls. Brigham Young resisted the idea of having social or recreational events in wardhouses.[24] Feeling that separate facilities should be provided for these nonreligious activities, he encouraged the early building of the Social Hall and the Salt Lake Theatre. Soon communities throughout the church had social halls, concert halls, opera halls, dance

[24] *Journal of Discourses,* 9:194–95.

halls, science halls, and later, young men's and young women's halls. On occasion a social hall was so large and well built that it would be used for ward meetings as well. Stylistically the early social halls looked just like meetinghouses. But as distinctive church form developed, the social hall took on a more secular character that it maintained until it began to be included within meetinghouses in the early 1920s.

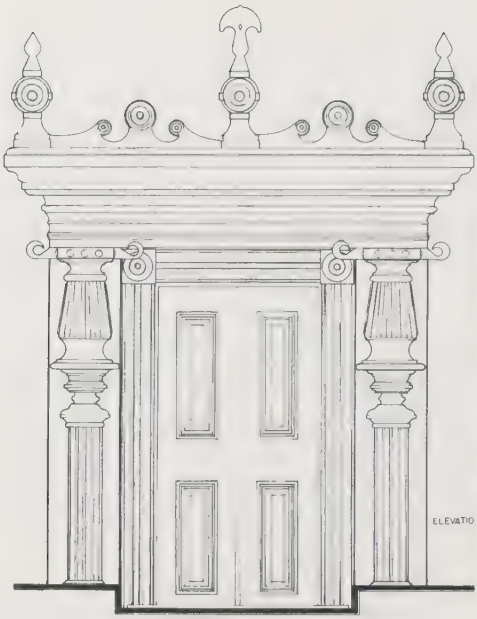
Tabernacles. The first tabernacle mentioned in the history of the Latter-day Saints was in Pottawattamie County, Iowa, where the Saints from Nauvoo stayed while awaiting an opportunity to journey west. Constructed of logs, it was known as the Log Tabernacle. This structure, built at the mouth of Miller's Hollow, or Kanesville (now Council Bluffs), was forty-by-sixty feet and was capable of seating about a thousand people. There, on December 27, 1847, the First Presidency of the church was reorganized with Brigham Young as president and Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as counselors.

The first permanent religious structure in Salt Lake Valley was the Old Tabernacle. Constructed of adobe on a rock foundation, it stood on the southwest corner of the temple block. It measured 126 feet in length and 64 feet in width and had a sloping roof covered with wood shingles. Finished in 1852, it was capable of seating twenty-five hundred persons. There the famous Mormon Tabernacle Choir was organized, and meetings were held in the building regularly on Sundays. This tabernacle was torn down in 1877 when the erection of the Assembly Hall was commenced.

While tabernacles had been built as early as the 1850s the greatest number and the most impressive buildings were not constructed until after 1877 when the church greatly expanded its number of stakes. Of the twenty extant tabernacles in Utah, only two were completed before 1877. Since 1877 many stakes of Zion have erected tabernacles with spacious assembly halls and often with rooms attached for offices of the stake presidency and for meetings of stake quorums. Other tabernacles were built to serve the needs of one or more wards in addition to the stake. These have been called stake centers, though the distinction between tabernacle and stake center is otherwise slight. In some cases tabernacles were built for wards alone, with stake conferences rotating between wards in the stake. In this instance the word "tabernacle" had more of a qualitative meaning. Any building that was especially large in scale and seating capacity and was spectacular in form and detailing might be called a tabernacle, even though stake meetings were seldom

LDS tabernacles affirm the rich variety of Mormon architecture. Clockwise from top left: Provo Tabernacle, 1883–96, was designed by master architect William H. Folsom in a style imitative of Presbyterian churches remembered by converts to Mormonism. The lofty center tower was removed and the roof rebuilt to permit continued use of the building. Salt Lake Tabernacle, 1863–67, will always be considered a technological wonder of pioneer Utah. Coalville Tabernacle, 1879–86, demolished 1971, was a high point of the Gothic style in Utah. In the 1940s the great vertical assembly room was bisected horizontally by a floor, an unfortunate remodeling effort that helped to seal the building's fate. Wasatch Tabernacle, 1887–89, exhibits stateliness, order, and beauty. Utah State Historical Society photographs.

held in the building. The Richmond Tabernacle was a ward meetinghouse. The Willard, Springville, Lehi, and Parowan tabernacles were also meetinghouses that were large and more ambitious than most others and were called tabernacle by the justly proud Saints who built them.



The St. George Tabernacle, 1865–71, was built under extreme hardship conditions. This magnificent structure repeats many design motifs of New England churches: elaborate plaster cornices and ceiling centerpieces and a unique ornamental reredos on the wall behind the speaker's podium. Utah Heritage Foundation photograph by Kent Fairbanks and Historic American Buildings Survey drawing.

Remaining church buildings from this period include:

Beaver Assembly Hall (1883)
Brigham City First Ward (1886)
Brigham City tithing granary (ca. 1875)
Cottonwood Relief Society granary (1878)
Ephraim United Order Mercantile Institution and Relief Society hall (1872–73)
Ephraim Relief Society granary (1872)
Escalante tithing office (1884)
Etna rock meetinghouse (1891)
Etna granary and livery stable (ca. 1890)
Fayette rock meetinghouse (1874)
Fremont meetinghouse (1879)
Grafton meetinghouse (1888)
Greenville meetinghouse (1882)
Grouse Creek tithing granary (ca. 1880)
Hanksville meetinghouse (1884)
Indianola meetinghouse (1883)
Kingston Relief Society hall (ca. 1890)
Lake Point rock meetinghouse (1884)
Logan Temple barn (1877–85)
Manti Tabernacle (1887–82)
Mapleton Relief Society hall and granary (1888)
Mayfield (Cobble) Relief Society hall and meetinghouse (1887)
Mayfield (Order) meetinghouse (1884)
Meadow meetinghouse (1884)
Moab meetinghouse (1888)
Moroni tithing office (ca. 1880)
Mount Carmel meetinghouse and tithing office (ca. 1875)
Provo Tabernacle (1883–96)
Salem Relief Society hall (ca. 1880)
Salina meetinghouse (1871)
Salt Lake Second Ward (1882)
Salt Lake Third Ward (1883)
Salt Lake Fourth Ward (1886)
Salt Lake Ninth Ward (1883)
Salt Lake Tenth Ward (1873)
Salt Lake Tenth co-op store (ca. 1874)
Salt Lake Assembly Hall (1882)
Santa Clara Relief Society hall (1877)

Santaquin tithing office (1880)
Shivwits rock meetinghouse (ca. 1875)
Smithfield Tabernacle (1881–1902)
Snowville meetinghouse (1887)
Spring City Relief Society granary (ca. 1875)
Spring City "Endowment House" (1876)
Teasdale meetinghouse (1885)
Toquerville Relief Society hall (1880)
Uintah Stake tithing office (1887)
Virgin school and tithing office (1874–75)
Wasatch Stake (Heber City) Tabernacle (1887–89)
Washington Relief Society hall (1871–75)

Eclectic or High-Style Period, 1890–1909

Probably no period of church architecture saw greater profusion and reaching out for new styles than the score of years from 1890 to 1910. The 1890s were years of international exhibitionism, expressionism, and overall architectural confusion. For the church the 1890s marked the end of Mormon isolationism. Since 1847 the success of the Mormon system had depended on the submergence of individualism and the unity of collectivism. The federal polygamy raids of 1884–90 brought government intervention that resulted in the dissolution of the Mormon's church-controlled society. The Perpetual Emigration Fund was outlawed, schools were put under outside control, church properties were escheated, and work on the Salt Lake Temple stopped. In addition, people reduced their payment of tithes and the church went into debt. An agricultural and mining depression coupled with overpopulation compounded the economic woes. The church building program of the late 1880s and early 1890s suffered accordingly. Very few churches were constructed during these years.

By the time the pressure was relieved by the Manifesto ending church-sanctioned polygamy in 1890, new attitudes had developed. Utah made the painful transition from Mormon commonwealth to national commonwealth as symbolized by its achievement of statehood in 1896. As the church agreed, although involuntarily, to ease its tight control in directing settlements and wards, individualism began to rise to the surface. As a result, a remarkable variety of architecture was produced.

Before 1890 most meetinghouses, though decorative, were built mainly for functional reasons and were never intended to be status symbols. But after 1890, several "monuments" were produced. While the world was pursuing the new modernism, the church seemed to revert to an eclectic combination of classical styles as its contribution to "modern" architecture. Such oddities as the Salt Lake Nineteenth Ward meetinghouse and the Centerfield meetinghouse, both built in 1890 were

The Nebo Stake Tabernacle, 1906, in Payson with its Italianate design shows how the end of Mormon isolation brought an increase of artistic individualism to church architecture even in the smaller communities.

perhaps unique but not progressive. They seemed to appeal mostly through novelty. The church appeared to be making an attempt, through its architecture, to show that the Mormons wanted to forget their previous isolation and join hands with the rest of the world.

In addition to the Gothic and Classical styles that continued from previous years, new forms evolved that were really old motifs put together in new ways. Renaissance forms including the Baroque, resurgent Neo-classicism, Romanesque and several other period forms, even Muscovite and Byzantine, were found either by themselves or mixed together in the same building. And to the previous building materials were added concrete and steel, products of the new industrialism. While plans were still rectangular and split-leveled, wings to house new auxiliary bodies of the church were added. Classrooms, Relief Society rooms, recreation halls, and bishop's offices were often incorporated with the chapel under the same roof. Regardless of style, the front central tower remained the dominant feature of most meetinghouses.

Many examples from this period remain:

American Fork Second Ward (1901–3)
American Fork Third Ward (1903)
American Fork Fourth Ward (1901)
American Fork "Apollo" dance hall (1903)
Beaver Dam church (1898)
Brigham City First Ward (ca. 1905)
Brigham City Tabernacle (1876–81, 1896–97)
Cainesville meetinghouse (ca. 1895)
Cedar Fort meetinghouse (1904)
Centerfield meetinghouse (1888–90)
Clarkston church (1910)
Eden church (1896)
Elsinore church (1910))
Emery meetinghouse (1898)
Enterprise meetinghouse and Young Men's MIA hall (1898)
Ephraim bishop's storehouse (1906)
Eureka church (1900–1901)
Fairview bishop's storehouse (1905)
Forest Dale church (1902)
Fountain Green bishop's storehouse (1908)
Fremont rock meetinghouse (1904)
Fruita log schoolhouse (1895)
Granite church (1904)
Greenville Relief Society hall (1903)
Greenwich meetinghouse (1906)
Harper rock meetinghouse (1894)
Hatch meetinghouse (1902)
Heber Stake amusement hall (1906)
Hyrum First Ward (1901)
Hyrum Third Ward (1903)
Hyrum Stake office building (1905)
Junction meetinghouse (1895)
Kanesville meetinghouse (1910)
Laketown meetinghouse (1908)
Laketown Relief Society hall (1901)
Leamington church (1904)
Leeds tithing office (1892)
Lehi Northwest Branch church (1894)
Levan church (1904)
Lewiston tithing office (1898)
Lewiston Relief Society hall (1898)
Loa Stake tithing office (1897)
Logan Sixth Ward (1906)
Manti North Ward (1908)
Murray First Ward (1907–13)
Murray Second Ward (1908)
Murray Tenth (Grant) Ward (1910)
Ogden First Ward (1909–10)
Ogden Eighth Ward (1906)
Ogden Ninth Ward (1909)
Ogden Stake Relief Society meetinghouse (1902)
Panguitch bishop's storehouse (1903)
Payson (Nebo Stake) Tabernacle (1906)
Payson Second Ward (1896)
Payson Second Relief Society hall (ca. 1890)
Perry Ward (1899)
Porterville Ward (1896)
Provo Third Ward (1901)
Provo Sixth Ward (1904)
Provo Fifth Ward Relief Society hall (1902)
Randolph tabernacle (1898–1914)
Richfield First Ward Relief Society hall (1907)
Richfield Third Relief Society hall (1908)
Richfield tithing office (1909)
Richmond bishop's storehouse (1905)
Salt Lake Second Ward (1908)
Salt Lake Fifth Ward (1910)
Salt Lake Tenth Ward (1909)
Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward (1902)
Salt Lake Nineteenth Ward (1890)
Salt Lake Ninetenth Relief Society hall (1907)
Salt Lake Twenty-fourth Ward (1907)
Salt Lake Twenty-seventh Ward (1902)
Salt Lake Twenty-eighth Ward (1902)
Salt Lake Twenty-ninth Ward (1902)
Salt Lake Thirty-first Ward (1902)
Santaquin meetinghouse (1896–1901)
Smithfield First Ward (1910)
Spring City Tabernacle (1902–14)
Tabiona meetinghouse (1909)
Taylorsville Ward (1894)
Timpanogos Ward (1895)
Torrey log meetinghouse (1895)
Uintah (Vernal) Tabernacle (1900)
Vernal meetinghouse (1901)
Wayne Stake Tabernacle (1906–9)
Wellsville Tabernacle (1902–8)
Willard tithing office (1900)
Woodruff church (1896)

First Modern or Wright-Influenced Period, 1910–21

In 1909 America's renowned architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, designed his famous Unity Temple in Oak Park, Illinois. This and similar buildings in Wright's Prairie style influenced architects throughout the world. Some LDS architects and members deny or seek to minimize Wright's influence on church design, but a comparison of Salt Lake's Liberty First Ward (now Park First) meetinghouse, the Parowan Third Ward chapel, Ensign chapel, or even the Alberta Temple to Wright's Unity Temple and other Prairie-style buildings will show a direct relationship. In some cases column detailing was directly cribbed.

Marking one of the few times Mormon architects have taken the lead in introducing new and innovative forms, young architects Harold W. Burton and Hyrum C. Pope designed the Park First Ward (formerly Liberty First Ward) meetinghouse in 1910. When it was completed in 1913, the church, and state as well, had its first truly modern piece of architecture. So successful was the Park First Ward that it became the prototype for many other religious and secular buildings erected throughout the state.[25] The Prairie-style influence was strongly felt by LDS architects, some of whom had direct experience with Wright's designs in Illinois. Taylor Woolley, for example, spent over two years working in Wright's design office.

By the year 1910, several changes within the church and changes in general building conditions throughout the state resulted in the end of vernacular architecture and the disappearance of many special types of buildings. The abolition of tithing in kind in 1908 ended the tithing office. By 1920 Relief Society halls were rarely built, as they were now included as parts of the meetinghouses. Detached ward recreation halls continued to be built, even into the 1920s, but most were included in new meetinghouses. The recreation hall was often built first and used as a temporary chapel until the premanent chapel was completed. Some wards, like Wandamere in Salt Lake City, never completed their chapel. Rather, they altered their recreation hall for use as a chapel. The fact that halls built for entertainment purposes could be converted into chapels with only interior modifications foreshadowed the development of a rather permissive or liberal attitude toward the essential nature of religious architecture.

[25] The *Deseret News* of December 4, 1973, published an article by Paul L. Anderson on the Park First Ward.

In the opinion of many architectural historians, the better buildings of the 1910–21 period were some of the most exciting produced by Mormon designers. There was an easily apparent boldness and massiveness, a sculptured look with strongly contrasting vertical and horizontal elements, cantilevered overhangs and deep shadows. The plans were somewhat freer, the masses simpler, and the basic proportions more subtle. Moreover, architects had turned away from traditional forms and had made an effort to design in a contemporary way. Unfortunately, this forward-looking philosophy of architecture was abandoned under pressure from church members. Without a tower, steeple, Gothic windows, or other traditional church forms, many members found it difficult to relate to modern architecture when comparing it with familiar meetinghouses of the past. Accusations of "awkward" and "unchurchlike" brought about the demise of modern church architecture.

Extant examples of this period include:

Alpine Stake (American Fork) Tabernacle (1909–14)
Amalga church (1919)
Annabella meetinghouse (1914)
Bear Lake Stake (Garland) Tabernacle (1913–14)
Brigham City Third Ward (1912)
Cannonville meetinghouse (1916)
Ensign church (1912)
Enterprise church (1914)
Escalante Relief Society hall (1911)
Grantsville Second Ward (1915)
Grouse Creek church (1913)
Gunlock meetinghouse (1912)
Hanna meetinghouse (1918)
Hiawatha meetinghouse (1914)
Holladay First Ward (1915)
Hyde Park Ward (1918)
Ioka church (1915)
Kaysville Tabernacle (1912–14)
Lakota Young Women's MIA hall (ca. 1915)
Legrand church (1914)
Lehi Fourth Ward (1912)
Levan Relief Society hall (1911)
Logan First Ward (1918)
Logan Tenth Ward (1918)
Lynne meetinghouse (1912)
Marian church (1910–14)
Moroni bishop's storehouse (1919)
Sharon church (1913)
Sigurd church (1912)
Talmage meetinghouse (1913)
Teasdale recreation hall (1917)
Upton church (ca. 1911)
Vernal Second Ward (1918)
Wandamere church (1919)
Wasatch church (1917–28)
Wells church (1919–26)
Windsor (Linden) church (1916–21)
Salt Lake Granite High seminary (1915)
Newcastle meetinghouse (1914)
North Farmington church (1918)
North Morgan church (1913)
Ogden First Ward (1913–26)
Ogden Twelfth Ward (1916–19)
Ogden Thirteenth Ward (1919–22)
Ogden Fifteenth (Lynne) Ward (1914)
Ogden Sixteenth Ward (1912)
Ogden Branch for the Deaf church (1916)
Parowan Third Ward (1917)
Payson First (now Fourth) Ward (1913)
Provo Fourth Ward (1918)
Randolph Relief Society home (1915)
Redmond church (1914)
Richfield First Ward (1912)
Salt Lake Park First Ward (1910–12)
Salt Lake Twenty-third Ward (1913)

Salt Lake City's Park First Ward, 1910–13 (top photos) and Parowan Third Ward, 1915–18 (right) were influenced by the Prairie style architecture popularized by Frank Lloyd Wright. Photographs by L. V. McNeely and Peter L. Goss.

Neoclassic or Colonial Revival, 1924–29

The rest of the story of Mormon architecture is one of searching and experimenting. After the rejection of modern forms, church architects of the 1920s turned to the past. Under church architect Col. Willard Young, meetinghouse plans were standardized and took on a "Colonial" appearance, supposedly reflecting the colonial heritage from which the church took root. "Alphabet plans" in the shapes of U, H, T, and L were intended to better integrate the increasing number of rooms under one roof.[26] Plans had been occasionally duplicated before this time, but now identical or nearly identical plans were sent out to most wards requiring new buildings. In a typical case, two identical churches were built in Lehi in the same year and on the same street only a few blocks apart. A passerby might think he was suffering from double vision. This trend toward mass-producing look-alike churches persists.

Numerous other stylistic trends have come and gone in Mormon architecture over the past fifty years. The Depression (1929–36) years

[26] Davis, "Church Architecture," 96–99.

saw the arrival of an Elizabethan Tudor Gothic influence promoted by Englishman Arthur Price who had been called to lead the church building program. Another experimental period (1938–42) resulted in an attempt at the new International architectural style. In complete contrast to the former Gothic period, churches were plain, finished in stucco, void of decorative elements, and, in the opinion of most members, too stark and austere to resemble real churches. Thus, in the decade after World War II (1945–56) the church reverted to a Neocolonial style that possessed a certain ecclesiastical dignity most laymen appreciated.

In 1953 the Church Building Committee was organized in an effort to increase control over the building program. An architectural department began to compile an index of plans of the choicest buildings then being constructed. These standardized plans were then made available to wards needing a new building. At the same time, a style the church called "International" was developed for meetinghouses. The general form consisted of a modified A-frame with adjoining wings. Brick and concrete were the main materials, and the style was more acceptable in foreign lands than earlier Colonial designs.

With the growth of church auxiliaries, the adoption of the Boy Scout program, and the refinement of priesthood organization, chapels became larger and more complex. Eventually, three distinct divisions of the meetinghouse emerged: the chapel complex, the recreational or cultural complex, and the classroom complex. The church developed chapels that could be built in stages. Each stage was intended to be aesthetically pleasing by itself, or as a whole completed building. A meetinghouse could grow as the congregation grew and as funds were gradually raised. With the church growing larger each year, it became a critical economic necessity to avoid expensive mistakes.[27]

Present-day critics of church architecture claim that aesthetics and function are suffering because of undue concern for economic expediency. And some sensitive members feel that present church architecture is not as representative of Mormonism's unique and powerful doctrines or beliefs as it may have been in pioneer days. It now seems apparent that even in pioneer times Mormon architecture was not completely indigenous to the church. Perhaps it is in the area of consistency of architectural expression that the greatest future challenges for Mormon architects present themselves.

[27] Harold W. Burton, "Our Church Architectural Development," *Improvement Era,* 62 (April 1959), 252–55.

Twelve Mormon Homes Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona. By Elizabeth Wood Kane. Introduction and notes by Everett L. Cooley. Utah, the Mormons, and the West Series, no. 4. (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1974. xxiv + 149 pp. $12.00.)

How delightful that a reprint of Elizabeth Wood Kane's 1872 edition of *Twelve Mormon Homes* . . . is finally available. The editor and the Tanner Trust Fund of the University of Utah Library are to be congratulated. The book is tastefully designed, with fine paper and choice of typeface, the dust jacket and warm color of the hardcover all combining to form a package befitting Mrs. Kane's sensitive, and often poetic, observations of Mormon society. As one who can remember early discussions at the Utah State Historical Society of hopes and plans to bring that rare little book back into the mainstream of Mormon literature, this reader is especially pleased to see it.

Mrs. Kane's observations of Mormon life, personalities, philosophy, theology, industry—scarcely a facet escapes her probing eye—are subjective; yet she manages to fit them all into the context of the larger American scene. There are literally dozens of subjects around which one could base a lengthy essay or research paper. (This latter fact is evidenced by the footnotes provided by the editor that are, in fact, a bibliography of Mormon scholarship of recent years.) However, in the interest of space limitations and with some editorial self-discipline, only brief mention can be made here of a few of the appealing aspects of the book.

Mrs. Kane's discussions ranging throughout the book on the status of the Mormon woman, as plural wife and mother, in the church and in the community, provide material that could touch off fiery debate in contemporary times, both within and without the "women's lib" movement.

Her descriptions of the physical environment of Mormon country, the climate, the geography, are so clear and exact that even today one far from home who has traversed many times that same route on the modern freeway can feel the crisp air, the wind sweeping across a forbidding landscape, can smell the sage, and see the mountains etched against a morning or evening winter sky.

And, with all her insight, how could Mrs. Kane possibly know with what effort and design the couriers must have raced ahead of Brigham Young's party as it wended its slow way from Salt Lake City to St. George that December of 1872 to provide for his guests the comforts and niceties described in this little scene on a frosty night at Cove Fort:

> Our room was nicely furnished, and looked very cozy as we drew our chairs around the centre-table, which had a number of well-chosen books upon it. The children were pleased to recognize another of the pretty pink-fringed linen table-covers of which so many had already greeted us on our journey, and wondered whether the "Co-op" had bought a large invoice from Claflin that we found them thus broadcast through the territory. It made us feel New York quite near us.

Great changes were in the offing for the Mormon people at the time the Kanes visited Utah. Only subtle hints of these undercurrents surface now and then in Mrs. Kane's narrative. In just five years Brigham Young would be dead and his people on the threshold of an uncertain future. But Mrs. Kane captured much of the essence of what Mormon society was then and still is in great measure even today.

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To Utah With the Dragoons and Glimpses of Life in Arizona and California, 1858–1859. Edited by HAROLD D. LANGLEY. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1974. xvi + 230 pp. $8.50.)

This volume contains twenty-five letters, written by an enlisted soldier in the Utah Expedition, that were first published in the Philadelphia *Daily Evening Bulletin* during 1858–59. The letters from "Utah," the pseudonym the correspondent used to identify himself, are valuable for the descriptions they offer of army life; for a critique of the life, times, and politics of that era; and for a firsthand analysis of Mormons and Mormonism. The editor, Dr. Harold D. Langley, is the assistant curator of the National Museum of History and Technology. His research is very well done in the area of military life and individual soldiers.

These letters give an excellent picture of the life of this antebellum soldier, including the antics of an eleven-year-old drunk drummer boy, numerous references to soldiers who took "French Leave," and punishments and discipline procedures, including being "bucked and gagged." "Utah" also appears to have been very aware of national politics and often is openly opposed to old "Buck" (James Buchanan). His assessment of Mormonism and particularly polygamy is a most important part of the volume. "Utah" suggests that one reason Buchanan has sent the army to Utah is because he (Buchanan) "having lived so long without getting a wife, is envious of Brother Brigham's success among the ladies and takes this mode of venting his rage" (p. 21). "Utah" seems to anticipate some of the comments of Mark Twain when he writes:

> Their women, however, did not strike me favorably, coming as I do from the good old Keystone State, where a homely woman would make the fortune of Barnum. Of nearly a hundred and fifty, there was not one among them who would not come under the head of—well, ugly is an unpleasant term to apply to the fair sex, but I must tell the truth. At home I know at least a dozen fair damsels whom I would have no objection to bring under the Mormon doctrine; but if these I met are a specimen of Mormon beauty, one is more than I want. The men, on the contrary, were fine looking fellows . . . with neatly trimmed black whiskers and moustaches—there was not a bare-faced man in the crowd (p. 66).

Thus "Utah" writes of Utah with his own biases in view.

Some small errors are evident in this volume: Leonard Arrington is not of the University of Utah (p. 15); the Mormon church moved to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831 rather than 1833 (p. 3); and Willard Richards, rather than Albert Carrington, established the *Deseret News* in 1850 (p. 115).

In the final chapter, Langley examines the membership of the dragoons in order to establish the identity of "Utah." This chapter brings to a fine conclusion a delightful series of letters.

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The West: An American Experience. Compiled and edited by David R. Phillips. Text by David R. Phillips and Robert A. Weinstein. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1973. xiv + 232 pp. $25.00.)

The Taming of the West: A Photographic Perspective. Compiled and edited by David R. Phillips. Text by David R. Phillips and Robert A. Weinstein. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1974. viii + 232 pp. $25.00.)

The photograph as a historic document has come into its own, taking its place alongside letters, diaries, and newspapers as a source of detailed information on the society of a particular time and place. While the photograph has long been recognized for its matchless ability to freeze a historic moment — the joining of the rails at Promontory, for example — its usefulness in documenting the life of a town has seldom been fully appreciated until recent years. *The West: An American Experience* and *The Taming of the West* illustrate how the historic photograph documents the daily life of ordinary people.

Both books contain a large number of photographs of Leavenworth and nearby Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, mostly from the superb work of E.E. Henry and from a collection of some forty thousand glass negatives preserved by Mary E. Everhard. In a generous sampling the viewer sees Leavenworth's streets and businesses, the railway depot alongside the Missouri River, hotels, law offices, fish markets, river steamers, Blacks, families, workers, farmers, soldiers, federal prisoners, aging veterans. The rich fabric of life in one part of Kansas from about 1860 to 1900 in vividly exposed.

With the exception of Alaska, the West encompassed by the two books lies mainly between the Missouri and Rio Grande rivers. Places covered in some detail include the towns and surrounding areas of Socorro, New Mexico, photographed by Joseph E. Smith; Deadwood, South Dakota, by Silas Melander; and Dawson City, Alaska, by unknown photographers. Montana and Nebraska are well represented. And each book also contains a full chapter on Native Americans, mostly from the photographs of N.A. Forsyth.

In slightly different ways each book illustrates the settlement of the West. What one sees is not the great movement overland but the digging in by "the unheralded people who conquered the prairies, quite unaware that they were effecting a major transformation in American history." The tedious labor of ordinary men and women tamed the West. The photographs selected by David R. Phillips document this achievement and may do more to balance the general readers' view of the West than any other comparable volumes. While the sensationalized West of the movies will remain with us, the stunning photographs reproduced in these books will enrich our "memory" of the real West as few other historic documents can.

The reproduction of the glass negatives is truly excellent, and the text by Phillips and Robert A. Weinstein places the photographs in a narrative context that will help most readers appreciate them as documents rather than mere textual embellishment. In addition to their value as social history, these volumes are tributes to the artistry and technical skill of the nineteenth-century wet-plate photographer who captured for posterity the visual record of his time.

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Utah State Historical Society

One Time, I Saw Morning Come Home: A Remembrance. By CLAIR HUFFAKER. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974. 320 pp. $8.95.)

I am a memoir addict. By memoir I mean fictionalized history written by people like Wallace Stegner, Samuel Taylor, Virginia Sorensen, and Rodello Hunter, who have made my cultural history come alive in meaningful, humorous, and touching ways. I therefore was eager to read *One Time, I Saw Morning Come Home,* a "remembrance" by Clair Huffaker, who is about my age and is writing about the Depression that ravaged my home state. I hoped for an inside view of Magna, Utah, a little town near the Salt Flats which has always fascinated me. (In my childhood it was the "wrong side of the tracks" where mysterious miners dwelt.)

But a remembrance is not a memoir. A remembrance seems to be a tribute, of the kind delivered at anniversary dinners and at funerals. Mr. Huffaker has prepared such a tribute, couching it in fiction and sweetening it to excess. He gives us Magna with its inhospitable dust, and he tells us that his father's death was also the death of Magna. But there is little else to interest historians. The book reads like women's magazines of a few years ago. It is sentimental, with one-dimensional characters who speak mainly in apostrophes to show a lack of grammatical training:

> "Best ya c'n do is t' get madder 'n hell at it. An' then swear under y'r breath alot an' move it one corner at a time. But t' be perfectly honest, I sure do prefer deliverin' ironin' boards and lampshades."

The author tries to give us his parents: Orlean, sweet and resilient, her love for her husband bestowing upon her all kinds of courage she didn't know she had; Clair, a wanderer searching for the love his mother refused to give him and finding it in Orlean. We are *told* that he is a rough-riding, tough-talking mining man, but we are *shown* this only in one scene—when he is recovering from the horrendous experience of being run over by a train. We are allowed to enter his head and to hear the volley of epithets as they authentically berate the life that forces him to hang on. If Mr. Huffaker had been able to carry this strength throughout, if he had been able to distance himself from his parents—as Stegner did in *Big Rock Candy Mountain* — the story might have taken on the life it needs and deserves.

But, then, Huffaker is not Stegner, as is obvious from his style. No noun is allowed to go unadjectived, no verb unadverbed. Adjectives spawn other adjectives, and the cliche, that greatest of all labor-saving devices, is everywhere. Rain is "bitterly cold and drizzling," pain is "bittersweet." Winters are "murderous" with their "icy tentacles" and their "still-frozen" land. The word "warm" is applied to nearly everything (except, of course, murderous winter). Even "tired hugs" are warm. There is the "blinding blackness" of "terrifying night." The darkness in its turn is "surrounding" and "ink black" or "pitch black"; the road is "wildly curving, frighteningly narrow," but the hero "senses every dangerous inch of the dark way." At one point a character "bursts into silent tears." Huffaker cannot seem to trust his sentences to carry his thought; he loads them down with extra freight.

The story moves better in those places where someone is injured, or when only men are involved, as in mining or gambling scenes. I sense that Huffaker's talent lies in plot and action, not in description or in characterization. A canny and careful editor could have been a big help.

MARY L. BRADFORD
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This Was Cattle Ranching Yesterday and Today. By VIRGINIA PAUL. (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1973. 192 pp. $13.95.)

With a brief but adequate text and a splendid collection of photographs, Virginia Paul tells a story of cattle ranching from the time Ewing Young drove the first herd of Spanish cattle north from California in 1836 to present-day cattle auctions, feeding, and futures.

Although localized — the book is dedicated to the Northwest cattle industry — the author deals with enough history to satisfy the knowledgeable and appeal to the novice. She writes informatively of cattle breeds, from the longhorns, which according to a present-day proponent were "not God's gift to the cattle industry but damn sure were a blessing to Texas and the western cattle industry in the beginning," to the exotic breeds popular today.

In the evolution of cattle breeding it is surprising to find the Hudson's Bay Fur Company introducing the Durham into British Columbia to upgrade the early Spanish cattle. Since the Durham was intended for breeding and milk production, the sale of its progeny to the American settlers was not allowed, but humanitarianism finally prevailed and two cows were loaned to each family to help alleviate the hardships of frontier life.

Thumbnail sketches accompany excellent portraits of early-day cattlemen. Many names are known to anyone interested in early cattle history: Pierre Wibaux, owner of the W Bar outfit; Conrad Kohrs who opened a butcher shop at Last Chance Gulch in Helena, Montana, and ended up owning an empire of cattle; the well-connected Englishman Moreton Frewen (he married an aunt of Winston Churchill) was also well financed but along with many others was wiped out by the severe winter of 1886. (Mrs. Paul hedges her bets on this date and refers to it simply as "the latter part of the 1880's.") Listed among the drovers are Nelson Story, who recognized the market possibilities created by beef-hungry miners and started a herd of longhorns north from Texas in 1866, Jack Splawn, and Ben Snipes — the names are legion.

The pictorial gallery assembled in this volume is remarkable. There are scenes of roundups, of cutting cattle — an early L. A. Huffman photograph of cutting out a steer reminds one of a Russell painting — of branding, trailing, swimming, and shipping cattle. There are pictures of cow ponies inside a rope corral and pictures of the remuda on the trail. And always there are the cowboys both known and unknown, posed and unposed. There is quiet dignity in the eyes of Joe Proctor, who was born a slave and bettered his lot by becoming a Montana cowpuncher, and almost laughable braggadocio in the fiercely posed group picture, circa 1890, of members of a Texas trail herd.

Of particular artistic merit is the photograph taken "against the sun with white dust screen in back" by G. V. Barker. It shows the XIT outfit, giant of them all, on its last trail out of Montana. The camp and chuck wagons are rolling, the cowboys on their ponies are stepping out followed by the horse string, numbering one hundred sixty five thoroughbreds, "the finest bunch on the range." By the time this picture was taken in 1908 the boisterous and colorful days of the cattle drives were over. The trails were dusty and bare, barbed wire had criss-crossed the West. Trains, and at a later date cattle trucks, transported the cattle to market.

Although the popularity of the legendary West does not lessen, the Huffman photograph showing the interior of a typical ranch house should discourage any exercise in nostalgia: beans being

coaxed to boil by lifting a lid off the stove, bread rising in a pan set on a chair, the everlasting dishpan hanging on the wall. The kerosene lamp and the sad iron are not shown, but any ranch wife can tell you that they are there, just out of camera range. Today, thanks to "wash and dry" the ranch children seem more comfortably dressed than formerly and their mother has time to attend the PTA meeting before rushing home to create a gelatine pudding complete with packaged topping. There is no doubt about it, progress has its advantages.

VIRGINIA N. PRICE
Price, Utah

New Mexico Populism: A Study of Radical Protest in a Western Territory. By ROBERT W. LARSON. (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1974. xiv + 240 pp. $10.00.)

Robert Larson's *New Mexico Populism* is a welcome addition to the field of territorial political history in the American West. The book is as much a treatment of the entire political scene in New Mexico during the 1880s and 1890s as it is an in-depth analysis of the Populist party in that territory. And therein lies its chief strength.

For those who are familiar with the Populist Revolt and the varying historiographic interpretations surrounding it, this book will provide few surprises. Larson is the latest among a growing group of scholars who, during the last fifteen years, have undertaken serious studies designed to rescue Populism from the assaults of the revisionists who saw the movement as a rather crude and naive attempt to deal with problems of depression and frustration through panaceas and scapegoat politics that were tainted with anti-Semitism and nativism. Though Larson views the "crusade" as generally positive and enduring, he avoids the temptation for historical overkill by refusing to become bogged down in the futile and presentistic argument over whether a third party, composed mainly of rural farmers, miners, and laborers, bore traits of incipient European Facism — or perhaps Marxian Socialism — and Hitlerian anti-Semitism.

The seeds of Populism were sown on flinty soil in New Mexico Territory. For "with New Mexico's Territorial Government so much under the thumb of the federal government and so heavily dependent upon Washington for helpful legislation and subsidies, . . . the well-known hostility of the Populists toward Washington would make the People's Party appear as a major threat to the growth of the prosperity of the Territory in the minds of many New Mexico citizens." But, as in other areas such as the Great Plains and the South, conditions were severe enough to impel farmers and small stockmen to form alliances in the late 1880s that would eventually seek the third party outlet during the 1890s in spite of the political inopportunism of doing so.

New Mexico Populists, like most of their counterparts, were believers in the "unity of producing classes," spurned all but the most peripheral manifestations of nativism (e.g., alien ownership of land), and favored free coinage of silver but not until the mid-1890s did they do so to the exclusion of other reforms as defined in the Omaha Platform. And though somewhat eccentric they were generally positive and progressive in their orientation.

In New Mexico, however, the Populists won no important elections; nor were any elective or appointive offices held by members of the Populist party. So the question may fairly be asked, why did the author devote this much time

and research on a social and political movement that appears to have had so little success? The answer, implicit throughout the pages of the text and explicit in his summation, is that the Populists did indeed affect the political scene in New Mexico by nudging "the Democratic Party to the left on both local and national questions." This thesis is persuasively argued and presented through painstaking and exacting historical research.

ROBERT L. TERRY
Salt Lake City

James Madison Alden: Yankee Artist of the Pacific Coast, 1854–1860. By FRANZ STENZEL. (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1975. xiv + 209 pp. $25.00.)

Dr. Franz Stenzel's book, *James Madison Alden: Yankee Artist of the Pacific Coast, 1854–1860,* is much more than a catalogue accompanying a recent exhibition of Alden's watercolors and drawings mounted by the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, Texas. The author has painstakingly traced the Yankee painter's travels along the Pacific Coast from 1854 through the winter of 1860. In so doing, he has heightened our appreciation of the artist-as-historian.

Alden was an artist for the United States Coastal Survey, the first survey of the region after the acquisition of California, and also served as the official artist for the Canadian-U.S. boundary survey. He had, then, the good fortune of painting the Pacific and Northwest regions while they were relatively pure and still primitive. The plates throughout the book, particularly those in color, attest to a region of evocative and powerful natural beauty. The watercolors and pencil drawings themselves, however, are perhaps more important as original documents than as major examples of landscape painting in nineteenth-century America. From the 1830s on, the ever-moving frontier was visited by cartographers, draughtsmen, and artists in the academic sense of the word. That some of these—Catlin, Moran, Bierstadt, et. al.—aspired to be and did become artists of repute in the scheme of things does not detract from the legacy given us by Alden. His mission was to visually chronicle the shape and the feeling of the newly acquired land. There is in his works an immediacy of purpose and of feeling, a shorthand technique that speaks well of natural talent and training, which was directed by cartographers at the U.S. Printing Office in Washington.

Alden was probably as prolific a watercolorist as nineteenth-century America was to see. To date, 670 separate works have been located. The author feels that probably not more than half of Alden's total output has been found—a fair assessment considering the frailty of watercolor as a medium.

The book is readable, though at times necessarily tedious in a blow-by-blow fashion. Chapters four and five, "Experiences in the Civil War" and "Secretary to the Admiral of the Navy," are far removed from Alden as "Yankee painter of the Pacific Coast," though without doubt the twenty-eight years of service he gave David Dixon Porter —destined to become admiral of the Navy—is historically pertinent. Still, both could have been condensed without doing violence to his story.

The last chapter in the book, "Alden's Watercolors," clears up the confusion over the artist's uncle, James—thought to be the artist of the survey and also captain of the survey ship *U.S.S. Active.* James Alden was indeed captain of the *Active,* and later became a rear admiral in the United States Navy; he was never

known to have painted, however. If the book has a major fault, it is in the last chapter. This reviewer would have liked to have found more substantive interpretation of Alden's paintings. Brief references to clumsy figures in some of the paintings and but passing mention of color, light, and perspective do little but whet the appetite. The works of James Madison Alden, though primarily historic, deserve more than this.

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Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour through Arizona and Sonora, 1864. By J. ROSS BROWNE. Edited by DONALD M. POWELL. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974. xv + 297 pp. Cloth, $9.50; paper, $4.25.)

Arizona has reissued Browne's Southwest classic, first published in 1869. The new introduction and annotations place this firsthand account of southern Arizona in historical perspective. The reprint includes Browne's drawings.

Badmen of the West. By ROBERT ELMAN. (Secaucus, N.J.: Ridge Press, Inc., 1974. 256 pp. $14.95.)

While the reader may wince at the dust jacket puffery that claims this book is the first "true history" of American outlaws, aficionados will find here a wealth of material on the badmen. Photographs and paintings adorn most every page, although in some instances they are not especially appropriate to the running text, i.e., pictures of the Klondike appear on several pages where the author is relating the saga of the Wild Bunch.

Black Bibliography. By the MARRIOTT LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF UTAH. Bibliographic volume 2. (Salt Lake City: Marriott Library, University of Utah, 1974. x + 825 pp.)

This compilation includes Black materials available at the University of Utah libraries arranged under subject headings such as Biography, Folklore, Mormon Church, Women, Government Documents, etc. The book will be indispensable to anyone engaged in Black studies.

Chuck Wagon Cookin'. By STELLA HUGHES. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974. xiv + 170 pp. Paper, $4.95.)

Rich in the history, lore, and techniques of chuck wagon cooking, this book also contains some amusing folk remedies and an excellent sampling of recipes from famous ranches such as the Hashknife Outfit.

Ezra Taft Benson and the Politics of Agriculture: The Eisenhower Years, 1953–1961. By EDWARD L. SCHAPS-

MEIER and FREDERICK H. SCHAPSMEIER. (Danville, Ill.: The Interstate Printers & Publishers, Inc., 1975. xviii + 374 pp. Paper, $6.50.)

Less an analysis of farm policy than an apologia for conservatism, this document will be of very limited value to the historian. The writing, pedestrian at best, is further marred by open partisanship and heavy didacticism. Reproduced from typewritten copy and bound in paper, the book lacks aesthetic quality and appears to be overpriced.

A Few Thoughtful Reflections of the Past. By CHARLES RICH SNELGROVE. (Salt Lake City: Author, 1974. 63 pp.)

Mr. Snelgrove, founder of several Salt Lake ice cream stores, dictated his memoirs at age eighty-six.

Fodor's Rockies and Plains: Colorado, Nebraska, Utah, Wyoming, South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana. Edited by EUGENE FODOR, STEPHEN BIRNBAUM, and ROBERT FISHER. (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1974. 319 pp. Paper, $4.95.)

Fodor's guide books are well known to travelers in all parts of the world. This volume on the Rockies and Plains seems well done. The essay on Utah by Harry E. Fuller, Jr., of the *Salt Lake Tribune* offers more than the usual travel blurb in the way of historical background and insight into what makes Utah the kind of place to visit and live in that it is. In many ways Fuller's piece is a better statement about Utah than some more pretentious books offer. The only fault worth mentioning is the implication on p. 121 that Wilford Woodruff was Brigham Young's direct successor rather than a later successor.

Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of New Mexico. By JAMES E. SHERMAN and BARBARA H. SHERMAN. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975. x + 270 pp. Paper, $4.95.)

More than one hundred thirty ghost towns and mining camps are included in this well-organized guide. Entries are arranged alphabetically and accompanied by more than four hundred fifty historic and contemporary photographs. Maps and map coordinates locate each settlement.

Index to Literature on the American Indian, 1972. Edited by JEANNETTE HENRY. (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, Inc., 1974. vi + 354 pp. $4.95.)

John Tanner and His Family. By GEORGE SHEPHERD TANNER. (Salt Lake City: John Tanner Family Association, 1974. xiv + 466 pp. $8.00.)

The prolific Tanners seem to have been everywhere in the West: San Bernardino, Arizona, Canada, and Payson, Utah. The story of this important family has been done well by George S. Tanner, a long-time LDS seminary teacher. The reader sees the Mormon experience from the viewpoints of different family members. An unusual and welcome feature of this family history is the use of footnotes.

Wit and Whimsey in Mormon History. By DAVIS BITTON. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1974. x + 72 pp. Paper, $1.95.)

Dr. Bitton has put together a choice collection—mostly from newspapers and diaries—of Mormon pioneer humor that should be well received by readers of all ages in Utah and elsewhere. The serious business of pioneering, courtship, and church affairs were to the early settlers targets for satire, anecdote, humorous verse, and wry commentary. Lula Greene Richards's poem on the Cullom Bill is easily worth the price of the book.

ANTIQUITIES

Folsom, Franklin. "An Amateur's Bonanza: Discovery of Early Man in North America," *The American West,* 11 (November 1974), 34–39. New Mexico's Folsom archaeological site produced evidence of man's antiquity in North America.

Snow, Cordelia Thomas. "A Brief History of the Palace of the Governors and a Preliminary Report on the 1974 Excavation," *El Palacio,* 80 (Fall 1974), 1–21. Historic structure in Santa Fe, N.M., that housed the military and civil authorities of frontier New Spain.

Soule, Edwin C. "Lost City Revisited," *The Masterkey for Indian Lore and History,* 49 (January–March 1975), 4–19. Archaeological discoveries in Nevada's Moapa Valley near early Mormon settlement.

FARMING AND RANCHING

Bird, John W. "A History of Water Rights in Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* 18 (Spring 1975), 27–32.

Brown, Dee. "Day of the Longhorns," *American History Illustrated,* 9 (January 1975), 4–9, 42–48.

Clark, Ira G. "The Elephant Butte Controversy: A Chapter in the Emergence of Federal Water Law," *The Journal of American History,* 61 (March 1975), 1006–33.

Probert, Beverly. "The Day of the Horse in Northeastern Nevada," *The Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* 5 (Summer 1974), 2–24. Ranch horses from the turn of the century to the early 1930s.

Watson, Sue Ruple. "Cattle Kingdom," *Utah Cattleman,* (February 1975), 22–23. Winner of the Utah Cow Belles 1974 human interest story award.

HISTORICAL METHOD AND SOURCES

Beecher, Dale. "Why Study History?" *The New Era,* 5 (March 1975), 14–17.

Fite, Gilbert C. "The Historian as Teacher: Professional Challenge and Opportunity," *The Journal of Southern History,* 41 (February 1975), 3–18.

Ham, F. Gerald. "The Archival Edge," *The American Archivist,* 38 (January 1975), 5–13. Suggests new goals for archivists.

Hanke, Lewis. "American Historians and the World Today: Responsibilities and Opportunities," *The American Historical Review,* 80 (February 1975), 1–20.

Scholes, France V. "Royal Treasury Records Relating to the Province of New Mexico, 1596–1683," *New Mexico Historical Review,* 50 (January 1975), 5–23.

INDIANS

DeLauer, Marjel. "A Century of Indian Traders and Trading Posts," *Arizona Highways,* 51 (March 1975), 6–15.

Ellis, Florence Hawley. "A Pantheon of Kachinas," *New Mexico Magazine,* 53 (March 1975), 13–28. Well-illustrated article attempts to correct "the reams of printed misinformation" on the Kachinas of Pueblo Indian religion.

Emmit, Robert P. "Indians in Colorado," *The Denver Westerners Roundup,* 31 (January 1975), 3–11. Ute Indians.

Jett, Stephen C. "The Destruction of Navajo Orchards in 1864: Captain John Thompson's Report," *Arizona and the West,* 16 (Winter 1974), 365–78. The burning of peach trees in Canyon de Chelly.

Lyon, Luke. "A Calendar of Indian Fiestas," *New Mexico Magazine,* 53 (April 1975), 6–17.

Magnaghi, Russell M. "Herbert E. Bolton and Sources for American Indian Studies," *The Western Historical Quarterly,* 6 (January 1975), 33–46.

Momaday, N. Scott. "To the Singing, to the Drums," *Natural History,* 84 (February 1975), 38–45. Traditional Indian dancing.

Worcester, Donald E. "The Apaches in the History of the Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review,* 50 (January 1975), 25–43. Includes a bibliography of recent works on the Apaches.

LITERATURE, ART, AND FOLKLORE

Aly, Bower. "John G. Neihardt: Man, Poet, and Splendid Wayfarer," *Nebraska History,* 55 (Winter 1974), 573–80.

Cawletti, John. "God's Country, Las Vegas and the Gunfighter: Differing Visions of the West," *Western American Literature,* 9 (February 1975), 273–83.

Dickson, Paul. "Stereo Views: America in Three Dimensions," *The American Heritage Society's Americana,* 3 (March 1975), 2–7. Mentions Charles R. Savage.

Dippie, Brian W. "Frederic Remington's Wild West," *American Heritage,* 26 (April 1975), 6–23.

Hamlin, Edith. "Maynard Dixon, Artist of the West." *California Historical Quarterly,* 53 (Winter 1974), 361–76.

Hendricks, Gordon. "Roaming the West with Albert Bierstadt," *The American West,* 12 (January 1975), 22–29.

Lee, Hector H. "Tales and Legends in Western American Literature," *Western American Literature,* 9 (February 1975), 239–54.

McGinty, Brian. "The Trouble Began in San Francisco," *American History Illustrated,* 9 (February 1975), 10–17. The beginning of Mark Twain's literary career.

Silet, Charles L.P. "The Upton Sinclair Archives," *Southern California Quarterly,* 56 (Winter 1974), 407–14. Sinclair's papers, including confidential material gathered for *The Goose-Step* and *The Goslings,* is housed at Lilly Library, Indiana University.

Underhill, Lonnie E. "Hamlin Garland and the Indian," *American Indian Quarterly,* 1 (Summer 1974), 103–13.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

Buck, George, and Tim Norris. "Making Law in Utah: 60 Days of Chaos," *Utah Holiday,* 4 (March 24, 1975), 4–11. Utah is one of few states with a part-time legislature.

Chittenden, Elizabeth F. " 'By No Means Excluding Women,' " *The American West,* 14 (March 1975), 24–27. Abigail Scott Duniway pioneered woman suffrage in Oregon.

Jack, Ronald C. "Early Utah and Nevada Electoral Politics, Part 3: Elections of the 1860s," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* 18 (Spring 1975), 3–26.

Link, Eugene P. "Latter Day Christian Rebel: Harry F. Ward," *Mid-America: An Historical Review,* 56 (October 1974), 221–30. Methodist Ward, who championed women, Blacks, laborers, and others who were discriminated against, lived with an uncle in Utah in 1891 and worked for the LDS church.

"President Lincoln, Polygamy, and the Civil War: The Case of Dawson and Deseret," *Lincoln Lore,* (February 1975), pp. 1–4. Utah's territorial governor.

"Spanish Colonial Customs in New Mexico," *El Palacio,* 81 (Spring 1975), 2–37. Includes material on the Penitentes, wedding and funeral customs, folk medicine, festivals, toys and games, folk craftsmanship, etc.

Thompson, Enid T. "The Ladies of Bent's Fort," *The Denver Westerner's Roundup,* 30 (November–December 1974), 3–18.

WESTWARD MOVEMENT

Carter, Harvey L., and Marcia C. Spencer. "Stereotypes of the Mountain Man," *The Western Historical Quarterly,* 6 (January 1975), 17–32. The mountain man as a hero, a daring but degraded character, and an expectant capitalist.

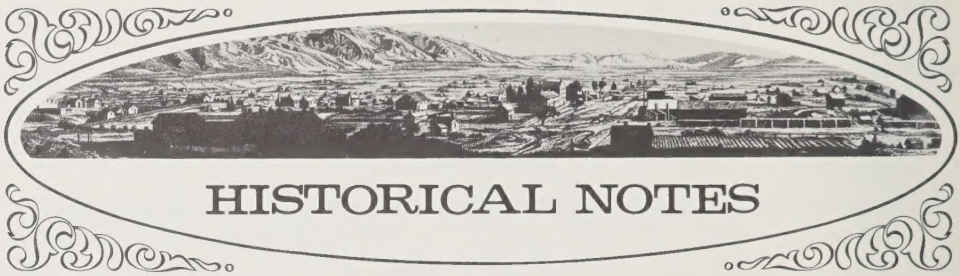
"The 1850 Overland Diary of Dr. Warren Hough," *Annals of Wyoming,* 46 (Fall 1974), 207–16. Includes mention of Utah places.

Gowans, Fred R. "Some New Notes on Two Old Forts," *Annals of Wyoming,* 46 (Fall 1974) 217–52. Fort Supply and Fort Bridger.

Hartesveldt, Richard J. "The 'Discoveries' of the Giant Sequoias," *Journal Of Forest History,* 19 (January 1975), 15–21. Credits the Joseph Reddeford Walker party of 1833 with the discovery.

Horstmann, Granville M. "Forts in Colorado: Military and Fur Trading," *The Denver Westerner's Roundup,* 30 (September 1974), 24–35.

Purdy, John R., Jr. "A Manuscript Map of an Overland Journey from Salt Lake City to Sacramento City," *The Western Historical Quarterly,* 7 (January 1975), 47–62.



HISTORICAL NOTES

The library of the Utah State Historical Society has acquired ninety-three feet of papers of Harry L. Aleson (1899–1972), Teasdale, Wayne County. A graduate of Iowa State University, Mr. Aleson was an engineer and co-owner of Larabee and Aleson Western River Tours. The Aleson papers, donated to the Society by his widow, Dorothy D. Aleson, will add much new material to the library's extensive collections on the exploration and development of the Colorado River. Other recent Society accessions include a map of the Castle Gate mine disaster of 1924; business records, including check registers and cash books, of the Delta Drugstore, 1917–65; a survey by John R. Ferrin of historic sites in Holladay, Murray, Midvale, Sandy, and other communities affected by the proposed extension of Interstate 215; typescript "History of Mary Jane Eaver Palmer," who came to Utah in 1866; a photocopy of the 1776–77 Escalante diary, in Spanish, from the Archives of the Indies at Seville, Spain; and six hours of oral interviews with businessman A. J. Redd of San Juan County.

Recent accessions listed by the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, Provo, include: four thousand glass plate and acetate negatives by George Edward Anderson (1860–1928) and George Beard (1856–1944) that document central Utah and other parts of Utah and the Rocky Mountain West at the turn of the century; miscellaneous papers of retired Sen. Wallace F. Bennett; letters and financial papers of Black trapper James Pierson Beckwourth (1798–1866); miscellaneous items of territorial delegate John F. Bernhisel (1799–1881) and of pioneer Thomas Bullock (1816–1885); diaries of Albert R. Lyman (1880–1973), an early settler of Blanding, Francis Washington Kirkham (1877–1972), an educator, and Albert Jones (1839–1925) who was imprisoned for polygamy; records of the Interstate Brick Company for the years 1890 to 1968; and miscellaneous records of Nephi, Utah, including the Nephi Co-op and the Nephi Irrigation Company. The Lee Library has compiled descriptive registers for the papers of Adam S. Bennion, David John, Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner, Conan Mathews, Joseph Hill Richards, Jesse N. Smith, Lotta Van Buren, Orson F. Whitney, and Alma B. Wright.

The Mormon History Association honored three scholars for contributions to historical writing at the group's annual meeting April 12 at Brigham Young University. Dean C. Jessee of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints received the association's Best Book Award for his editorial work on *Letters of Brigham Young to His Sons*. Best Article awards went to D. Michael Quinn, New Haven, Connecticut, and Gordon Irving, Bountiful, Utah, for articles published in scholarly journals in 1974.

FOX

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